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Sı eres Genízaro: Race, Indigeneity, and Belonging in northern New Mexico

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Sı eres Genízaro: Race, Indigeneity, and Belonging in northern New Mexico

by

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Dedication

Esta obra de amor es dedicada a mi Creadora, mi querencia, mi'jita querida:

Eliana Natalia Gonzales.

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Puro amor, mi'jita.

Sı eres Genízaro: Race, Indigeneity, and Belonging in northern New Mexico

Gregory Paul Esteban Gonzales, Ph.D.

The University of Texas at Austin, 2017

Supervisor: Pauline Strong

Despite a sustained interest in the formation of Genízaro identity in northern New Mexico during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, little has been done to address its collective persistence and maintenance today. Whether serving as the corporeal buffer zones between Native and colonial nodes of power as Indigenous slaves, settlers, or military scouts, Genízaros continue to be recognized for our historical presence and contemporary absence. Yet nestled in the Rio Chama and Taos valleys of northern New Mexico, individuals, families, and communities maintain Genízaro identity as a continued experience—myself included.

This ongoing tension motivates my dissertation to examine the politics of recognition, representation, and subject formation in northern New Mexico and the U.S. Southwest Borderlands through an anthropological study of Genízaro identity in the Rio Chama and Taos valleys. While facilitating rigorous archival and ethnographic research agendas, my analytical and methodological movements are intently focused on particular histories and experiences of Genízaro social life within both communities, including:

education, land tenure, cultural representation, cultural expression and spatial formation, and the politics of Indigenous recognition.

This study is situated at the intersections of sociocultural anthropology, Mexican American and Latinx Studies, and Native American and Indigenous Studies. Striding along these disciplinary boundaries, my project speaks in multiple registers, simultaneously, to consider how the structuration of intelligible social, cultural, and political forms shape the examination, expression, and embodiment of recognizable subject-positions and social formations. Indeed, this question is approached through the distinct lens of Genízaro Indigeneity to explore its dynamism by repositioning its analytical focal point toward the discursive interstices of race, latinidad, transnationalism, and Indigeneity. In effect, this dissertation illuminates the ways in which region-based logics of intelligible, Indigenous "livable life" have impacted the examination and expression of Genízaro identity in northern New Mexico.

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INTRODUCTION

"What is a Genízaro?"

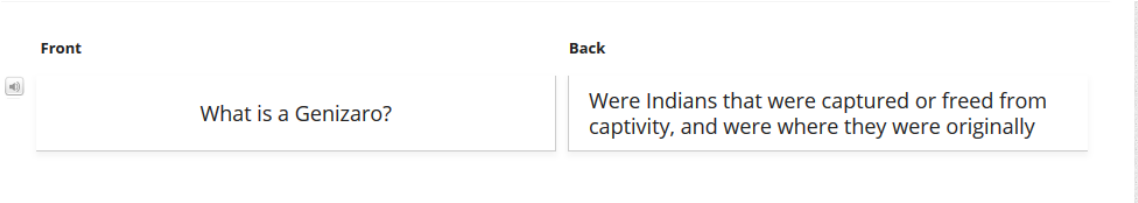

Figure 1: "New Mexico History Finals," May 2012. Accessed September 1, 2016. http://www.cram.com/flashcards/new-mexico-history-finals-2193258

Welp, I better tell the others who we are apparently, I joked to myself. Stumbling upon the above web-based high school history "flash card" for New Mexico students (See Figure 1 above), I mouthed the question and response to myself over again, pondering on its incredible significance. Through cyberspace, Genízaro matters had been summed up and concluded in the space of an incomplete sentence. But, what are those matters?

A. Background: "Genízaro Matters"

To begin, one must understand how the term "Genízaro" even came into being—and how it made its way to the northern fringes of the Spanish colonial empire, an area covering what is today northern New Mexico and southern Colorado—and its subsequent explosion in the region. In fact, one must travel across the Atlantic Ocean to find its etymological roots, entering into the Mediterranean region which was under the political control of the Ottoman Empire for over five hundred years. Indeed, according to numerous scholars, the word "Genízaro*"* is a Hispanicized version of the Turkish word, "*yeni-cheri*," or "Janissary" in English (Dunbar-Ortiz 2007; Hall 2004; Riley 1995). While this etymological origin story remains grounded in its usage to identify young

Christian boys being taken captive and subsequently drafted into military service in the Ottoman imperial armies, there is little work to show exactly how it journeyed from the Mediterranean to northern New Mexico.

Only 30 years after the Treaty of Córdoba was signed in 1491, effectively establishing the Spanish monarchy in the Iberian Peninsula, Spanish colonial visions began to take shape as they brokered strategic alliances with Indigenous peoples in modern-day central Mexico to effectively overthrow Aztec imperial rule over the region 1521. Roughly 80 years later, don Juan de Oñate funded a Crown-sanctioned entrada (military expedition) from Zacatecas in northern Mexico to ultimately establish the first Spanish colonial outpost north of the Rio Grande, San Gabriel del Yunque-Ouingue in modern-day Okhay Owingeh Pueblo in northern New Mexico (Bannon 1974; Weber 1992). Indeed, only 30 years after Oñate's founding of San Gabriel, Spanish officials again recruited Indigenous settlers from present-day Tlaxcala in central Mexico to build a Catholic church in present-day Santa Fe and settle the surrounding area which they named, Barrio de Analco (Archibald 1978; Simmons 1964). At this time, Spanish officials used the term "Genízaro" to mean different things at different times, and in this case used the term to identify Tlaxcalteca Indigenous settlers.

However, these discrepancies were apparently remedied as Spanish colonial authorities and Catholic missionaries began using "Genízaro" for a specific purpose: to identify Indigenous women and children who were taken captive and sold into the region's robust slave trade operating throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Brooks 2001). While the Spanish Crown and Catholic Church had officially banned the

practice of slavery throughout Spanish America, each left an important exception which became the main arguments used to justify this slave trade: 1) "just war" doctrine of the Spanish *Recopilación de las Leyes de la Indias* of 1681; and 2) the Catholic doctrine of rescate, or redemption. In citing a doctrine created by the Catholic Church, Spanish government officials indicated that Spanish colonial subjects could capture Native peoples only if they were engaged in "just war" or in battles that maintain Spanish colonial authority (Newcomb 2008). In the second case, Catholic missionaries, particularly Franciscan clergy heading up the missionization efforts in the region, argued that it was one's Christian duty to "redeem" Native peoples from the "heathens," or in this case, Native peoples who did not submit to Spanish colonial authority (Weber 2005). The result of these policies was the creation of a slave trade economy whose embodied commodities comprised Indigenous women and children which grew rapidly throughout northern New Mexico.

Moreover, it is estimated that roughly one out of every three individuals living in New Mexico were identified by colonial and Church administrators as "Genízaro" by 1790 (Bustamante 1991). In some cases, these officials would make explicit the tribal origins of these captives, but more often than not, this simply did not happen. In others, colonial officials would utilize other terms like "cautivo" (captive) or "criado" (adoptee or servant) to skirt governmental regulations over the structures and processes of slavery in the region (Brooks 2001; Gutiérrez 1991; Rael-Gálvez 2002). Still, the proliferation of Genízaro communities can be seen as the result of Spanish colonial officials utilizing Genízaros to settle along the peripheries of colonial power, including: the Pueblo de

Abiquiú, Ranchos de Taos, Talpa, Llano Quemado, Carnué, Belén, Tomé, among others (Brooks 2001:236-237). Indeed, Genízaro men were often utilized as military guides for colonial military operations—their military prowess so effective that there was a specific military unit created just for Genízaros called "la tropa de Genízaros" (Hall 2004; Magnaghi 1990). Yet, two of the most prolific spaces for the region's slave trade manifested were in the Rio Chama and Taos valleys (Brooks 2001; Eiselt 2012; Quintana 1974; Rael-Gálvez 2002; Weber 1992)— particularly, the Pueblo de Abiquiú, and; Ranchos de Taos.

Indeed, both comprise the two most active Genízaro communities in the region today, as well as my sites of study for my dissertation project (See Figure 2 below):

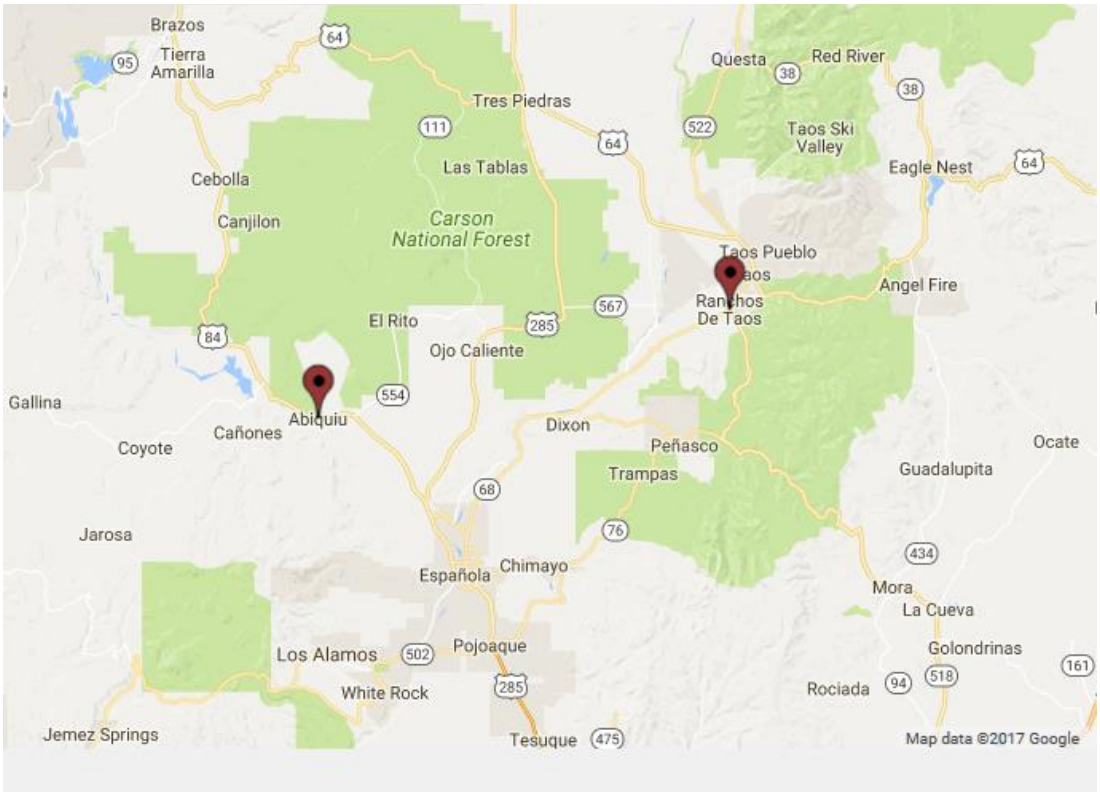

Figure 2: Map of Genízaro Communities of Study (Pueblo de Abiquiú, left; Ranchos de Taos, right)

In the case of the former, Spanish colonial administrators established the Pueblo de Abiquiú with dozens of Hopi-Tewa families in 1754, yet whose communal land holdings were established as a Genízaro Pueblo under the same colonially-based legal mechanisms as those establishing the territorial boundaries of the 19 federally-recognized Pueblo Nations whose sovereign lands currently reside in the state of New Mexico (Córdova 1973, 1979; Ebright and Hendricks 2006; Quintana 1974). In the Taos valley, de facto Genízaro communities—Ranchos de Taos, Talpa, and Llano Quemado)—were established through the resettling of the Cristóbal de la Serna land grant as colonial administrators recruited Genízaros to settle the lands (Brooks 2001; Gonzalez 2007). In both spaces, Genízaro presences became intimately connected to violence as colonial officials utilized Genízaro bodies as "buffer zones" to be strategically places along the geospatial corridors of colonial and Indigenous geopolitics (Blackhawk 2006; Chávez 1979; Dunbar-Ortiz 2007; Horvath 1979). Genízaro existences, in effect, comprised integral-yet-disposable instruments of Spanish colonial policy while embodying corporeal barriers against Indigenous political and economic power in the region.

Yet there remains a lively debate among historians, archaeologists, and anthropologists—one which has built entire academic careers based on the very question being posed to New Mexico high school students as of 2012: what is a Genízaro? This dissertation refuses to answer that question—although, it is centrally about it. Whether serving as the corporeal buffer zones between Native and colonial nodes of power as Indigenous slaves (Blackhawk 2006; Brooks 2001), settlers (Dunbar-Ortiz 2007), or

military scouts (Hall 2004; Magnaghi 1990), Genízaros continue to be recognized for our historical presences and current absences. Coupled with the continued scholarly insistence that Genízaros were simply "detribalized, Hispanicized Indians" who ceased to exist as Indigenous peoples in New Mexico after Mexican independence in 1821 (Chávez 1955, 1956, 1979; Lecompte 1985), historical writing has become the tomb of Genízaro identity discourse—"a tomb in the double sense of the word in that, in the very same text, it both honors and eliminates" (Certeau 1988:101). As a result, many scholars insist on reifying this tripartite characterization of Genízaro identity—read "detribalized, Hispanicized Indian"—with what John Kessell (1979:263) terms the "eighteenth-century test-tube baby" thesis, wherein the identitarian recipe of Genízaro existence boils down to three simple components: detribalization; Hispanicization, and; Plains Indian tribal origins. Equally, a growing number of ethnohistorians have been examining Genízaro presences through colonial violence, its displacement by other Indigenous peoples, and Indigenous agency in the region—thus problematizing the unilaterality of Spanish colonial power to demonstrate the critical role of Native peoples within the region's political economy (Blackhawk 2006, 2007; Brooks 2001; Ebright and Hendricks 2006; Rael-Gálvez 2002). Yet a common theme persists: Genízaro bodies comprise perpetually-historicized objects of study drenched in gallons of intellectual ink-blood which have inscriptively molded our existences to consist of now-nonexistent though Indigenously-specific figures solely discernable through imperial and state-centric chronologies.

It is within this very historiography which I write, and write in tension with. This, of course, is not intended to constitute the complete dismissal of the intellectual saliency

or relevancy of historically-based scholarship. Rather, this position calls attention to the fact that the conceptual niceties of this overwhelmingly-historical narrative are those which continue to narrate the entombment of my daughter, myself, my family, my community, and other Genízaro communities in northern New Mexico. Indeed, we must reconsider the seemingly-innocuous question being posed by the "flash card" through the subject and method of violence (Blackhawk 2006; DeLay 2009; Guidotti-Hernández 2011; Jacoby 2008) by connecting the historicity of its physical deployment onto Genízaro bodies to its textual brutality as conditioning the very potentiality of and for contemporary Genízaro subjectivities which unilaterally binds Genízaro presences to Spanish colonial and Mexican national temporalities. This scholarship base not only situates Genízaro peoples inside a temporal vacuum, it also runs the risk of strategically utilizing Genízaro identity as the productive means and ends of colonial violence, and its displacement, by Native and non-Native stakeholders alike.

Equally, my work acknowledges the continuing role which academia plays in shaping the conceptual contours of Genízaro identity today. Archaeological scholarship remains intrigued with tracing the Indigenous residues of Genízaro artifacts (Jenks 2011; Sunseri 2010), while historical work seeks to connect Genízaro land tenure histories to Hispano community land grant activism and research (Gonzales 2014). Moreover, relatively recent anthropologically-based scholarship has developed a racialist hierarchy of Indigenous legitimacy by comparing Métis presences in Canada with Genízaro absences in New Mexico (Hanson and Kurtz 2007), while scholarship situated in Indigenous Studies now moves to unilaterally deploy the political rhetoric of Indigenous

sovereignty over Genízaro political forms and movements throughout the U.S. Southwest (Delgado 2016). Clearly, Genízaros continue to captivate and remain the captives of scholarly knowledge production—which could arguably include this text.

Still, others have explored contemporary Genízaro presences through the lenses of folklore and ritual performance in northern New Mexico (Córdova 1973, 2006; Gandert and Lamadrid 2000; Herrera, Kaiser, and Romero 2013; Lamadrid 2003; Trujillo 2009). This limited-albeit-significant field of scholarship has been crucial in highlighting the dynamic spaces within which Genízaro identity is expressed today. Indeed, it has been this latter group of scholars which have been much more willing to bring the contemporaneity of Genízaro Indigeneity into dialogue with mestiza/o, Chicano, and Indo-Hispano scholarship. Admittedly, much of this literature incorporates analytics of cultural hybridity and mestizaje to frame contemporary Genízaro cultural expressions within the realms of Chicano and Indo-Hispano identity politics. In effect, cultural performance remains one of the few spaces where a contemporaneous Genízaro identity is acknowledged by academia.

While these literature bases certainly resonate within the historicity and contemporaneity of Genízaro identity discourse, my project ultimately disidentifies (Muñoz 1999) with these resonances—simultaneously interrogating and elaborating on the racialization of Indigenous existences in the region through the study of Genízaro identity in northern New Mexico. As such, this intellectual movement does not deny the capacity for Genízaro existences within broader Chicana/o and/or mestiza/o identitarian frameworks. Rather, it is the particularity of Genízaro identity within the Taos and Rio

Chama valleys which guides my work into an experience grounded in the strategic displacement of violence onto Native bodies, particularly women and children, in northern New Mexico. Put another way: this project reflects the assonance[1] of Genízaro identity discourse within a literature base attentive to the historical and current implications of colonialism and subject formation in the U.S. Southwest borderlands. Instead of situating this conversation alongside a complex racial scaffolding of Indigenous identity politics among Spanish-speaking populations living in the region, it is the specificity of Genízaro Indigeneity in northern New Mexico—the cultural memories of and continued experiences as Genízaro peoples—which motivates this project to remain attentive to the distinctive conversations and cultural forms manifesting in both communities.

This dissertation project indeed works toward something quite different: it considers the ethnohistorical and ethnographic matter of "mattering" as both constituting and constitutive of social significance. This interest in the sociality of individual and collective social presences builds and departs from sociocultural anthropology's curiosity with "processes of valuation and the making of meaning" (Taves and Bender 2012:1) in relation to the processuality of "intelligible" (Butler 1999) social formations and subject

[1] As a poetic device, assonance has been defined as "The repetition of a vowel or diphthong in nonrhyming [sic] stressed syllables near enough to each other for the echo to be discernible" (Adams and Cushman 2012:98). Building and departing from the space, assonance can be understood as encompassing the representational simultaneity of similarity and/as difference. This recognition of sameness-in-difference and difference-in-sameness makes the analytic of assonance a productive conceptual space for examining the specter of "social context" that haunts "the analysis of meaning" (Mertz 2007:338). In effect, assonance shifts our analytical focal point to the very sociality of interpretive contexts shaping the discursive parameters of intelligibility.

positions. Indeed, it is this ongoing tension which motivates my dissertation project to pursue a rigorous analysis of the politics of recognition, representation, and subject formation in northern New Mexico through an anthropological study of Genízaro identity in Ranchos de Taos and the Pueblo de Abiquiú, within which Genízaro senses of belonging (Ramirez 2007) continue to navigate the racial geographies (Saldaña-Portillo 2016) and national imaginaries of the U.S. Southwest Borderlands and beyond. In exploring these particular aspects of Genízaro social life, this study meticulously approaches the complexities of Genízaro histories and experiences through ethnohistorical and ethnographic lenses; examining and eliciting complex political, social, and cultural dynamics in a region where power, recognition, and relationality simultaneously inform and disrupt its political and cultural landscapes.

Interrogating the "spatial practices" (Saldaña-Portillo 2016:21; Peake 2010) configuring, co-producing, and confounding Genízaro spatial formations in northern New Mexico, my interest in the region's racial geography enables this project to understand the specific ways in which certain "configurations of power" (Saldaña-Portillo 2016:21; Kobayashi and Leeuw 2010:123) have been purposed to presence, silence, and absence Genízaro existences. Layering this lens onto the region's infamous Tricultural "ethnic territoriality" (Rodriguez 1990:551) of Native-Hispanic-Anglo spatial harmony facilitates a reading of this social environment that not only constitutes "representational practices" as "standing for," "speaking for," or "making present" (Strong 2004:345), but that the production and reification of the region's spatial integrity is itself constitutive of "spatial practices that must be decoded and interpreted" (Saldaña-Portillo 2016:20) along the

spectral fibers comprising a seemingly-naturalized racial tapestry continuing to shroud the northern New Mexico landscape. Indeed, historians (Gómez 2007; Mitchell 2005) and anthropologists (Guthrie 2013; Lovato 2004; Rodríguez 1990; Trujillo 2009) have explored similar lines of analysis concerning racial formation, ethnic identity, and territoriality in northern New Mexico. However, little work—save Enrique Lamadrid's seminal ethnographic study, *Hermanitos Comanchitos*—has been done to explore these issues through Genízaro-specific spaces or contexts.

As a study peculiarly striding along seemingly-anathematic conceptual pathways of race and racialization, Indigeneity, and latinidad, this project intends to develop its own unique approach to these analytical dogmas by building and departing from a rich scholarly literature base which works to complicate and clarify presumed assumptions and assumed presumptions. Echoing Martha Menchaca's (2002:2; Takaki 1990) emphasis on the importance of examining racial ideology "to understand the politics and processes of racial categorization…[and] study race as a central source of societal organization," I work to attend to, yet move beyond, the "textual politics of neglect" (Ibid 1) and obsession saturating Genízaro identity discourse in northern New Mexico; neglected in the discourse's unwillingness consider Genízaro Indigenous existences beyond the temporal boundaries of Spanish colonialism and Mexican nationalism, yet obsessive in academia's fascination with exhuming and entombing Genízaro (non)realities as expressions of colonial violence, Indigenous agency, and transformable Indigenous subjectivities through our racialization. Indeed, adopting and adapting Métis scholar Chris Andersen's (2014:15) poignant approach of the analytic of racialization as

"the hierarchical processes through which races are produced and legitimized," I work to consider how this form of "symbolic power" has impacted, to varying degrees, the very intelligibility of Genízaro subjectivities vis-à-vis U.S. Indigenous identity politics and the structuration of intelligible, Indigenous livable lives.

I bring this into dialogue a critical approach to the politics and conditions of Indigeneity by interrogating the political ontology of Indigeneity operating within the discipline; that, under this framework, Indigeneity simply constitutes a distinct political and legal status in relation to the settler state (Andersen 2014; Barker 2011; Byrd 2011; Deloria 1969, 1974; Garroutte 2003; Simpson 2000, 2008, 2009; Williams 1990). Indeed, to couch Indigeneity under the conceptual signpost of "race" is to destabilize this political project at its analytical core. Of course, this perspective must equally account for the phenomenal amount of scholarship devoted to the analytic of race within the politics and conditions of Indigeneity, resulting in much-needed scholarly attention to bloodism as "one of the more potent idioms of racial and cultural difference" (Sturm 2011:7, 2002; Fletcher 2011; Forte 2013; Klopotek 2011; Lowery 2010; McKinney 2006; Miles and Holland 2006; Moreton-Robinson 2006; Strong and Van Winkle 1996). True, a growing body of literature has worked to address these analytical fissures concerning the transformation of Indigenous nations into minoritarian populations being subsumed into the political fold of the settler state through the deployment of Foucauldian analytics of biopolitics (Rifkin 2014), Indigenous-specific applications of Fanonian critiques of the dialectics of Indigenous recognition (Coulthard 2014), or innovative conceptual maneuvers to attend to the distinct colonialities of non-white, non-Indigenous presences

in Indigenous homelands as “arrivant colonialisms” (Byrd 2011:xix). Still, more work is needed to complicate the clarities and clarify the complexities of this discourse when considering interstitial social existences and formations—particularly, minoritarian and transnational—which may operate beyond or in tension with the representational politics of U.S.-based tribal sovereignty and nationhood.

In this way, there now appears to be an important moment for critically engaging with this political ontology coursing through the disciplinary veins of Native American and Indigenous studies. Rather than policing recognizable politics and conditions of Indigeneity along the political integrities of the U.S. setter state, this project taps into the interjective thrust of a critical Latinx Indigeneities analysis to shift our analytical focal point away from U.S.-based political ontologies of “race, place, and indigeneity,” and instead consider latinidad as an historical, political, and social construct developed to absorb “layered and complex indigenous communities” from Latin America “within a U.S. racial landscape” (Blackwell, Boj Lopez, and Urrieta forthcoming:9). Of course, this project actively works to complicate and clarify this space in order to consider how historical, cultural, and political forms operating within Genízaro communities can perhaps open the analytical aperture for this space to consider the existences and experiences of New Mexico-based, nonrecognized Indigenous communities which also negotiate the imaginaries and realities of latinidad in the region. What emerges from this space is a Genízaro interpretation of multifocal, multi-vocal perspectives of Genízaro Indigeneity manifesting along the transnational Indigenous borderspace of northern New Mexico.

B. Methodology

a. Mal-Crianza: Toward Critique and Method[2]

What is critique? While acknowledging the breadth of scholarship dedicated to this very question, I would like to build and depart from Judith Butler's (2000) analysis to explore its legacy within social theory and potentiality within my own work. Herself navigating through the philosophical landscapes of Raymond Williams (1976), Michel Foucault (1997), and Theodor Adorno (1984), Butler considers the predominance of critique's analytical modality. Particularly, as the judgement and reification of normativity through deviance, the analytical potentiality of critique is already delimited by its very assumption and presumption of a normative field of knowledge. If judgement itself remains couched within a Manicheanistic ontology presupposing knowledge as an objective, normative entity, it becomes apparent that any effort to interrogate these

[2] I build and depart from Estevan Rael-Gálvez's (2002) innovative exploration of the mal-criado figure. Tracing the "criado" figure's referencing to a structure and process of Indigenous enslavement in northern New Mexico which strategically operated outside of U.S.-based ontologies of slavery (Ibid). There also appears within the discursive tapestry of the malcriado figure is a shrewd layering of inappropriateness, ineptitude, and Indigeneity. In fact, the term operates as a bugaboo—an elusive allusion to enslaved Indigenous bodies embodying the antitheses of *what* and *who* comprises competent, appropriate subjects. Equally, my working through the conceptualization of mal-crianza echoes Rael-Gálvez's efforts to "decolonize even the language used to pronounce and presence someone's place," which he accomplishes by splitting the term to read "mal-criado." Re-written as such, this act "inverses the pronouncement away from the actions of being of the child," and instead shifts the analytical focal point "toward the actions of the alleged patriarch and or matriarch (read 'owner' and 'master') who has 'reared' the child in this way in the first place" (Ibid). He concludes that "if an Indian is mal-criado—reared in the 'wrong' place—he or she is made so because of the relations of rule created, manifest and maintained in the unequal positions implicit in that relationship of master and slave" (Ibid). Indeed, Rael-Gálvez's reformulation critically challenges the presumption and assumption of naturalized hierarchical power relations embodied within the malcriado figure by calling attention to those structures and stakeholders complicit in the development and maintenance of these power relations. Yet, I re-write the term as "mal-crianza," a theoretical effort to elicit the processuality of "crianza," or "rearing."

"prevailing constellations of power" (Ibid par. 4) is already undermined by the immediacy of judgement as the model and modelling of critique.

Rather, Butler (Ibid par. 3) echoes Williams's (1976) position that critique's undue restriction "to the notion of 'fault finding'" must be contested by seeking newer languages, or "the kinds of responses we have 'which [do] not assume the habit (or right or duty) of judgement.'" These responses do not comprise instantiations of judgement; their critical potentiality instead deriving from their specificity as a "practice of values" predicated on the "very suspension [of judgement]" (Ibid). Butler's approach demands that social analysts move beyond the analytical currency of critique as a reflection and re-inscription of normativity. Instead, critique must be understood as a part of a praxis so as "to apprehend the ways in which categories are themselves instituted, how the field of knowledge is ordered, and how what is suppressed returns, as it were, as its own constitutive occlusion" (Butler 2000: par. 4). In effect, this conceptual reformulation of critique calls for the interrogation of these categories as the very fields of inquiry; fields which are, themselves, relationally constituted and instituted (Bernstein 2016a). The intellectual landscape of critique, in turn, reveals itself not as a natural environment to be discovered by social analysts, but instead as the dialectical instantiation of socially-mediated and -situated relations being navigated and negotiated by its interlocutors.

i. Mal-Crianza as Critique

As this Butlerian approach to disrupting and dismantling the analytical feedback loop of critique aims to resituate the critic within "the social world at hand" (Ibid par. 4), I find this effort to move critique beyond the philosophical dualism of a Spinozan

determinacy-as-negation (Deleuze 1988:94) to be crucial in highlighting its generative qualities and productivity. Under this reformulative project, there is no "separation of the idea from its object" (Adorno 1984:23; Butler 2000: par. 4); that is, my critique—my mal-crianza—does not manifest within an intellectual vacuum, nor does it make a claim to a higher, normative form of knowledge. Rather, its analytical potency lies in its capacity to theorize as practice, wherein: theory comprises activity; activity comprises ethnography; and ethnography comprises relationality (Bernstein 2016c). The work that mal-crianza intends to facilitate is relational at its core: the simultaneous invocation and transgression of relationality as thought, practice, and praxis.

These transgressions, in turn, comprise an important disruption of the logics of normativity, or those individual and collective commitments, to a Hegelian reading of "values and norms" (Bernstein 2016b). In a way, mal-crianza echoes Hegel's call to identify and eliminate the illusory passivity of values; that is, values are not natural, pre-social systems, but rather highly socially-mediated, -constituted, and -constitutive formations (Ibid). This is not to dismiss the efficacy or necessity of the value itself, but to resituate its authority as a dialectical relation which is constantly being mediated and transgressed; a thinking through and working through of socially-mediated self-relationality. Indeed, monolithic conceptual units of social analysis are transformed into social formations located within complex signatures of power, enabling my analysis to connect individual with social pathologies. Consequently, the notion of relationality which undergirds this project is neither new nor revolutionary. Instead, it enables my

analytical movements to think through the structuration of Indigenous, "livable life" by exploring the logics of this logic through theoretical praxis of mal-crianza.

ii. Mal-Crianza as Method

As a scholar working inside the discipline of anthropology while conducting a rather exhaustive archival project within my dissertation, I realize that this work is far from novel. Perhaps as a commentary on the overall project itself, it is clear that this project is not unique. Rather, its archival character enters into spaces which have been extensively mined by many of my intellectual predecessors. Indeed, this project synthesizes archival materials from a total of 41 archival collections from 15 different archival repositories located throughout New Mexico, Colorado, Illinois, and Washington, D.C. The collective characters which I consulted include: administrative reports; internal memoranda; unpublished manuscripts; videos and audio recordings; and photographs. Yet, the distinctiveness of my work manifests in how it is framed when casting this rather large net to gather the archival presences of Genízaros; that Genízaro subject-positions do not constitute historically-embalmed subjects because I am here, and the communities to which I belong and collaborate with are here. Oddly enough, part of this intervention is being made through the lens of historical writing: reflecting and inflecting archival power (Trouillot 1995) to expose assonant expressions of Genízaro subject-bodies within the "corpus" (Ibid) of New Mexico's "standard historical narrative received and accepted by various groups **as the past**" (Corbett 1996: par.5). Instead of locating Genízaros along the historical peripheries of peripheral histories, our forced embodiments of "buffer zones" between the rational imaginaries of colonial, settler-

colonial, and Indigenous power are transgressed as I transit the material intimacies of knowledge production which flow through individual, familial, and communal spaces alike.

Indeed, this analytical movement exposes complex entanglements (Hodder 2012) of archival and ethnographic knowledge being elicited and elaborated by this project; revealing multi-scalar, non-linear forms of power whose localities "are often defined by the power of dominant groups in the centers, such that development in the periphery is constrained and channeled by the center" (Ibid:109). As such, our very individual and collective existences problematize, at the very least, the region's corporeal integrity by materializing Genízaro social presences in tension with, though not necessarily in opposition to, the region's Tricultural corpus. An initial reading of this scene would suggest that Genízaro subject-positions are simply "unthinkable" along the bodily creases of New Mexico's cultural borderlands; that Genízaro archival presences literally embody the inconceivable "within the range of possible alternatives, that which perverts all answers because it defies the terms under which the questions were phrased" (Trouillot 1995:82). As my work demonstrates, researching the archival resonances of Genízaro existence demands that its researchers *re-search*, or reexamine, the epistemic parameters of "unthinkability" itself. To couch Genízaro archival existences as entirely "unthinkable" is to erase its initial dependency on Spanish colonial and ecclesial archival practices to presence Genízaros as *Genízaros*, as marginal-albeit-legible Indigenous subjects within the Spanish colonial apparatus. More importantly, Genízaro historical presences do, in fact, remain "conceiv[able] within the range of possible alternatives"

(Ibid) of the Tricultural corpus—as "detribalized, Hispanicized Indians" ceasing to exist in New Mexico as Indigenous peoples after Mexican independence in 1821.

After a thorough examination of these analytical physiognomies however, it becomes clear that this archival "thinkability" remains "thinkable" so long as Genízaro social presences do not embody "that which perverts all answers because it defies the terms within which the question was phrased" (Ibid). The corporeal features of Genízaro bodies must not deviate from the region's tripartite body politic; the figurative intelligibility of our individual and collective figures remaining dependent upon our continued service as the referential counterpoints for legible Indigenous and Hispano subject-positions manifesting within the Tricultural corpus. To pursue the resonances, silences, and assonances of Genízaro identity along the spatial continuum of the archive is to "unthink" the unilaterality of "unthinkability," and expose how Genízaro existences remain "conceivable" by rationalizing our non-relational relations to the region's historical narrative. As Genízaro archival presences remain predicated on determining *who we are not* and *where we do not belong*, what emerges within my approach to archival work is the inscriptive simultaneity of Genízaro archival legibility; reflecting and inflecting its intellectual roots, aimed at "rationalizing and standardizing" (Scott 1998:3) a state-centric "conceptual order" (Belge 2011:97) of race-based social stratification, to explore Genízaro social presences being preserved, perpetuated, and personified in northern New Mexico.

This approach indeed does not delimit the archive to a passive space of knowledge collection and extraction, but instead recognizes its interdependent relation to

power (Derrida 1995; Trouillot 1995; Mbembe 2002; Stoler 2002; Galloway 2006). In fact, it is Achilles Mbembe (2002:20-23) who most effectively illustrates the archive as an edificial and documentary materiality that inscribes itself "in the universe of senses," as well as a discursive imaginary that simultaneously constructs and ruptures "communities of time" to harness, deploy, and disperse the fragments of life it accumulates. As Jacques Derrida (1995:4) concludes, "there is no political power without control of the archive, if not memory." Yet it is not enough to simply deride the archive's complicity in the construction, consolidation and deployment of power. Indeed, my conceptualization of the archive must account for *how* I consult it.

My approach to archival work follows Michel-Rolph Trouillot's (1995) examination of power and silence within the creation, development, and dissemination of history. In pinpointing the structuring elements of historical discourse, Trouillot's analytical extension into the silences of the historical record prove to be most fruitful to my research. Particularly, he identifies four crucial moments where silences enter the realm of historical discourse: the moment of fact creation; the moment of fact assembly; the moment of fact retrieval, and; the moment of retrospective significance (Ibid:26). Each comprising vital components of a concerted structuration of knowledge, this schematic brilliantly illustrates "an erasure more effective than the absence or failure of memory, whether faked or genuine" (Ibid:60) due to its capacity to cite and reify the empirical, positivist production model of history-making. In turn, one can consider how historical discourse can discipline facts as unthinkable, excludable, and/or concealable

(Ibid:82)—underscoring the significance of power when consulting the archival record. Still, how does one navigate this minefield of power dynamics?

To understand how I negotiate these expressions of power manifesting through archival records, I echo Patricia Galloway's (2006:9) call to contextualize texts. As "the historical record itself is and has been manipulated and constructed at several levels," (Ibid:10) a thorough excavation of the archival space must move past its inherent constraints. To achieve this, I follow Galloway's (Ibid) innovative approach by "making a preliminary attempt at inventorying and describing the whole original body of evidence as defined in terms of a specific record-keeping practice," with particular attention being paid towards "any principles of exclusion operating alongside principles of inclusion." Operating "*within* sources as much as it does in the process of making up groups of sources," (Ibid) these processes shed light on how voice, silence, presence, and/or absence operate within the construction and analysis of historical narrative. Additionally, my methods of archival work demand a "microhistorical, ethnographic concern with thickly described incidents" (Ibid:15; Ginzburg 2012). Rather than committing "the sin of 'event history'…or to be under any illusion that what we can construct is anything like what 'really happened,'" I intend to address "moments of the *conjoncture*," or "those medium-term processes of portentous change/interaction…when grave decisions were made and individual acts were picked out from the undescribed quotidian" (Ibid). Indeed, the analytical character of "the event" within this project echo Michel de Certeau's (1988:96) reconsideration of the concept, that:

> "Far from being the base or the substantial landmark on which information would be founded, the event is the hypothetical support for an ordering along a chronological axis; that is, the condition of a classification. Sometimes is it no more than a simple localization of disorder: in that instance, an event names what cannot be understood."

In this way, the event functions as a useful tool for intellectualizing a comprehensible temporal and spatial framework within which Genízaro identity discourse can exist. This innovative approach to the notion of event-based research certainly resonates with the moments this project examines, focusing on those quotidian utterances resonating from non-quotidian archival sources.

The next methodological instrument I apply to my work is the framework of oral history. As a method intending "to open novel routes for understanding the past, the relation of past to present and the lives of others through time, by listening to the voices of individuals talking extensively about the events and experiences through which they have lived" (Gardner 2006: 206-207), oral history is treated as an equitable source of knowledge collection and production akin to its textual kin. Yet, as Alessandro Portelli (1998:64) emphasizes, "oral sources are *oral* sources," demanding the researcher to move beyond the fetishization of the transcript which "turns aural objects into visual ones, which inevitably implies changes and interpretation." Rather, this multi-focal oral history project is grounded in the understanding that "[o]ral historical sources are *narrative* sources," narratives which shift the analytical attention from the true/fiction binary and instead explore a knowledge space

> "in which the boundary between what takes place outside the narrator and what happens inside, between that concerns the individual and what concerns the group, may become more elusive than in established written

> genres, so that personal 'truth' may coincide with shared 'imagination'" (Ibid).

In this way, oral history encompasses a methodological approach that "tells us less about *events* than about their *meaning*" (Ibid). Since much of my work is focused on particular event-spaces within which Genízaro identity is examined, embodied, and expressed, this delving into the interpretation and significance aspects of oral sources is critical to my work.

Additionally, this dissertation project is situated within "a special place in the American ethnographic imagination for more than a century" (Trujillo 2014), particularly conducting ethnographic research in the Rio Chama and Taos valleys of northern New Mexico. As such, my work must contend with the classical physics of ethnography and its problematic legacies among Indigenous peoples and minority communities in the region. Integrating social theory with ethnographic- and archival-based research prerogatives has enabled my project to move past the unilateral disciplining of Genízaro existences to elicit and elaborate on the complexities of Genízaro Indigeneity in northern New Mexico; its analytical modus operandi building and departing from "interpretations, and second and third ones to boot" (Geertz 1973:15). Indeed, this project's ethnographic research component comprised of almost-constant traveling between foreignly familiar and familiarly foreign spaces to conduct interviews with informants, in addition to participating in community meetings, events, festivals, funerals, and other social gatherings.

Yet instead of viewing this work as "a voice, and in some disciplinary iterations, the voice of the colonized" (Simpson 2014:96; Pagden 1982), this project approaches the politics of representation embedded within ethnography through "a restrained familiarity…and the making of claims and the staking of limits" (Simpson 2014:102). Audra Simpson's (Ibid) intervention within ethnography's "discursive accounting" project is, in fact, grounded in an intentional invocation of territoriality; shifting the focal point from physical manifestations of terrain to "the space of method, critique, and construction in contemporary ethnographies of Native North America." Moving "the structures of anthropological need" away from a cultural forms-based analysis of the politics and conditions of Indigeneity in North America to prescribe and ascribe "the sanctity of culture and anthropological purity," she instead demands that anthropological knowledge production acknowledge sovereignty "as a methodological issue…because it speaks from jurisdictional authority: the right to speak and, in this case, not to speak" (Ibid 103-104). In effect, ethnography must acknowledge its colonial legacies within Indigenous communities in North America by holding itself accountable to these communities as sovereign political and legal entities; spaces imbued with the authority to define "an ethnographic calculus of what you need to know and what I refuse to write" (Ibid 105). Knowledge, simply put, both constitutes and is constitutive of Indigenous peoplehood and, in turn, nationhood.

This refusal to play anthropology's "ethnological game" is powerful and sets an important precedent for future anthropological work within Indian Country through the lens of sovereignty as a political and juridical space. Indeed, my attention to research

methods and Indigenous research agendas echoes Simpson's (Ibid; Simpson 2007:72) vociferous critiques of methodological alternatives which ultimately "structur[e] yet another expectation of a culturally 'pure' indigenous subject," particularly endorsing her concept of refusal which

> "articulates a mode of sovereign authority over the presentation of ethnographic data, and so does not present everything. This is for the express purpose of protecting the concerns of the community. It acknowledges the asymmetrical power relations that inform the research and writing about native lives and politics, and it does not presume that they are on equal footing with anyone."

Simpson's (Ibid) assessment of anthropology's investment in the "culturally pure indigenous subject" pivots the focus of anthropological research and knowledge production to consider Indigenous subjectivities as political and legal statuses vis-à-vis the settler state.

Still, what happens when this analytic is deployed outside of recognizable Indigenous political existences? Specifically, can nonrecognized Indigenous-based "ethnographies of refusal" adequately convey their disruptive characters within academia when their non-nationhood effectively operates beyond the political ontology which continues to structure recognizably sovereign Indigenous existences in relation to colonial and/or settler state power? These are important questions to pose when attempting to integrate this productive analytical space into the fold of my project as Genízaro peoples and communities, myself included, currently do not embody this politically sovereign space in relation to the U.S. settler state. As nonrecognized Indigenous peoples unable to access the political rhetoric of sovereignty under U.S.

federal Indian law, one could argue that these "ethnographies of refusal" should not be accessible for Genízaro communities and/or scholars as we do not embody, individually or collectively, distinct political and legal subject-positions in relation to the settler state. Perhaps this position is appropriate for those invested in this ontological polarity (i.e. Indigenous/settler state) as *the* political form through which Indigenous existence can be rendered recognizable. But not necessarily for this project.

Rather, what manifests within these pages are the textual resonances of mal-crianza; particularly, those of a a mal-criado ethnography, and a mal-criado's ethnography. After all, wiser people than myself have conceptualized ethnography as comprising one of sociocultural anthropology's key methodological instruments (Clifford 1988; Geertz 1973; Herzfeld 1987), or what I call the classical physics of sociocultural anthropology. The intellectual laws of anthropology's central method dictate that: 1) I have "been there" and seen some "stuff;" 2) I have thought a lot of about said "stuff," and; 3) I have somehow made sense of said "stuff" through intelligent people other than myself. Indeed, these theoretical principles seem to govern my very approach to collecting, organizing, and analyzing the ethnographic "stuff" I have studied, which are themselves largely dependent upon the inscriptive thoughts of those whose "stuff" makes most sense to me and others in the field. To "author-ize" (Geertz 1988) a text that is intelligible to the discipline of anthropology, I must first adhere to these laws reigning over the smallest elements of this ethnographic universe. Still, I wonder: what happens when my mal-crianza comes into contact with the discipline's disciplinary black hole: the ethnographic gaze?

While there are certainly many differences between the ethnographer's gaze and the astrophysical black holes situated among the stars, I argue that the ethnographic gaze is similarly "made wholly and solely from curved spacetime" (as cited in Moskowitz 2012:par. 3; Thorne 2012) like its celestial counterparts. Its gravitational field pulls, warps, and transforms the spacetime of ethnographic matter until ultimately collapsing into its discursive singularity: the ethnographic text. However, it would appear that, even after its inscriptive absorption into the ethnographic gaze, elementary particles of ethnographic matter can still be emitted (as cited in Moskowitz 2012:par. 3; Witten 2012). For decades, physicists concluded that nothing—not even light—could escape the gravitational forces of a black hole's event horizon, or the "communications boundary" (Chaisson 1988:198) that both binds and defines the limits of a black hole. However, in developing an anthropological reinterpretation of "Hawking radiation" (as cited in Moskowitz 2012:par. 3; Witten 2012) in relation to this initial theorization of a classical physics of ethnography, there appears to be a moment where, as ethnographic matter approaches the ethnographer's "communications boundary," or what I term as the ethnographic event horizon, ethnographic matter continues to be absorbed onto this "imaginary surface" (Ibid) while elemental properties simultaneously escape from its gravitational pull of anthropological deduction.

In order to quantify this exploration of sociocultural anthropology's quantum physics, perhaps it would be useful to integrate some "Genízaro high calculus" (Córdova 2006:54) to help better explain how my work interacts with this ethnographic event horizon. To begin, this theoretical form of Genízaro mathematics finds one of its most

cogent expressions in the pages of *el difunto* Benito Córdova's 2006 novel, *Big Dreams and Dark Secrets in Chimayó.* A Genízaro anthropologist from the Pueblo de Abiquiú, Córdova builds this Genízaro mathematical method into his narrative through a potent literary exchange. Specifically, his characters, a Genízaro elder named don Wilberto B.C. Ferrán, and the novel's main character, Flaco Salvador Cascabel Natividad, debate the absolute veracity of a math problem: "one plus one always equals two" (Ibid 56). Ferrán argues that this is not always the case, but Flaco rebukes the Genízaro elder. Finally, after placing a wager on whether he can disprove the problem's absolute certainty, Ferrán quickly pours Flaco's beer into his own beer mug—thus proving that one beer plus one beer can, in fact, make one beer. In this way, "Genízaro high calculus" enables this project's ethnographic lens to quantify the simultaneous absorption and ejection of ethnographic matter occurring on the ethnographic event horizon as not a paradox, but rather as the expressive simultaneity of its multifocal and multi-vocal registers. Under this formula, the rudimentary particles of ethnographic matter can take vastly different analytical characters while still being subjected to the same intellectual forces of ethnography. Under this model, ethnographic authority is shifted away from constituting a metaphysical law of social science, and instead transforms into the sighting and citing of socially-mediated sites of anthropological inquiry.

In a similar vein, this dissertation is not written as a totalizing ethnography or ethnohistory of Genízaro peoples or communities in northern New Mexico; it is not written to explicate a composite, linear temporality of Genízaro presences in the region. Rather, it moves through space and time much like the llaneros that my ancestors, elders,

and I sing as we travel from house to house during our feast day celebrations on New Year's Day. Indeed, I argue that my analytical movements are, in fact, expressions of a llanero method. As a cultural form and genre of music that is sung within my community as traveling songs (Lamadrid 2003), the llanero encompasses a profound body of cultural knowledge that is both intimately personal and profoundly communal in presencing Genízaro presences within and beyond the Taos valley. As a project that strides along the disciplinary margins of ethnohistory and ethnography, my movement between the Rio Chama and Taos valleys, or between the nineteenth and twenty-first centuries, are not random acts of intellectual curiosity. Instead, they constitute intentional movements to address moments of significance within both communities of study.

This intentionality is also predicated on the understanding that the llanero manifests along pre-planned travelling routes, effectively limiting its frame of reference to the boundaries of our land grant—though that does not necessarily mean that places or peoples outside of this space do not exist. Likewise, employing a llanero analytical method signals an acknowledgement of the limitations of my project; how its focal point shifts between different communities, times, and topics. As such, this does not constitute an outright denial of the existence of these matters within other spaces. Rather, my invocation of the llanero as an analytical method and methodological analytic reflects my connections to both communities, as well as the historical and continued relationships they maintain with one another. In effect, as my project makes its way across the peaks and valleys of ethnohistorical and ethnographic spaces of inquiry and knowledge

production, the llanero continues to guide me along my journey toward a productive analytical approach that straddles paradigms of spatial and temporal emplacement.

C. Dissertation Structure

My dissertation's first chapter, "¿Quién los conoce?: Education, Land, and the Pueblo de Abiquiú, 1890-1940," interrogates how the politics of subject formation, Indigenous identity, and land tenure impacted Abiquiú individual and communal accessibilities to regional Indian boarding schools between 1890 and 1940. I begin here in order to move the study of Genízaro peoples beyond the temporal borders of 1821, and explore how local, regional, and national stakeholders, including youth, parents, community leaders, political bosses, federal bureaucrats, and Indian school officials navigated a complex political, socioeconomic, and racial landscape to access federal Indian education institutions in northern New Mexico and beyond. While much has been written on the devastating impact of federal Indian boarding schools on Native children and communities, little, if any, has been done to examine the intersections of race, citizenship, and Indigeneity within these spaces. Equally, no work has been done to elicit and elaborate on the peculiar positions being occupied by children from Abiquiú when attending these Native-centric institutional spaces. Bringing this work into conversation with an in-depth archival project on land tenure in the Rio Chama valley during the same era, I intend to connect these Indian school-based articulations and examinations of Abiquiú-based Indigeneity with the regional political economy of land tenure; where the intelligibility of Abiquiú Indigeneity reflected, deflected, and inflected state-centric constructs of subject formation and intelligible Indigenous existences in the region.

In the second chapter, "Genízaro Indigeneity and the Columbus Quincentennary on the National Mall, 1992," I examine the contentious politics of cultural representation manifesting during the Smithsonian's 1992 Columbus Quincentennary program in Washington, D.C. Specifically, my analysis explores Genízaro movements and experiences beyond the geopolitical integrities of northern New Mexico, and on the National Mall in Washington, D.C. Consequently, this approach motivates my analytical movements to explore the examination, expression, and silencing of Genízaro existences within the archival memory of administrative, curatorial, and community stakeholders involved in shaping the National Museum of American History's "American Encounters" exhibit and Office of Folklife Program's "Festival of American Folklife" on New Mexico. Echoing Reyna Ramirez's (2007:15-18) timely call for recognizing contemporary Native presences beyond the geopolitical borders of tribal homelands, this paper resituates the National Mall and National Museum of American History in Washington as transnational "Native spaces" as federally-recognized tribal stakeholders collaborated with Smithsonian staff to regulate the cultural representation of Indigenous peoples within both projects; while also manifesting—quite literally—as curatorial and performance spaces within the Museum and on the Mall. Integrating an exhaustive archival project, coupled with oral history interviews and existing data, this chapter illustrates a complex field of power relations manifesting within these transnational "Native spaces," and its impact on the discursive palatability of Genízaro presences within the structuration of intelligible, distinctly Indigenous "livable life" being developed, deployed, and challenged on the National Mall.

Re-envisioning northern New Mexico as a transnational borderspace comprised of variegated, competing claims to place and identity, the third chapter of this dissertation, "Sigue el llanero, el llanero sigue*:* Transiting Genízaro homelands and contested querencias in northern New Mexico," explores how individual and collective understandings of spatiality, identity, and belonging (Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003) manifest within community-based Genízaro cultural forms emanating from the Taos valley. In a region where conflicting expressions of belonging to the New Mexico homeland can be at once in tension with yet imbricated in colonial, tribal, and settler state power, my work delves into the complexities of articulating Genízaro spatiality in relation to the politicized affect of querencia, or "that which gives us a sense of place, anchors us to the land, and makes us a unique people" (Arellano 1997:35). In effect, a unique opportunity presents itself to elicit and elaborate on the "links between cultural forms, institutional structures, and regimes of power" (Krohn-Hansen and Nustad 2005:11) through the vocalizing of continued presence within a homeland within which Genízaro subjectivities do, yet should not, belong.

The final chapter, "Sı eres Genízaro: Recognizable Politics of Recognition and Genízaro Indigeneity in northern New Mexico," examines how Genízaro communities are currently engaging U.S.-based politics of acknowledgement, tribal nationhood, and Indigenous peoplehood. Particularly, this chapter is grounded in ethnographic fieldwork conducted in Ranchos de Taos and the Pueblo de Abiquiú as each community approaches the discussion of recognition. Bringing the recent surge in Indigenous-based scholarship on recognition politics into dialogue with these ongoing conversations within Genízaro

communities, this chapter highlights how Genízaros, as nonrecognized Indigenous peoples, are individually and collectively engaging, navigating, and challenging these spaces through and toward a variety of different means and ends. This work ethnographically "author-izes" (Geertz 1988) mal-crianza as self-reflexive, multi-vocal expressions of Genízaro soundscapes and cultural landscapes that are dialogue with the region's rhetorical, spatial, and corporeal structuration of "ethnic territoriality" (Rodriguez 1990:551)—the Tricultural myth, northern New Mexico's master narrative within which region-based articulations of citizenship and belonging must be filtered through its tripartite (Nuevomexicano-American Indian-Anglo) lens. Finally, this analysis considers how this political ontology of Indigeneity interacts with the potentialities of articulating Indigenous treaty rights on the cultural and religious protections guaranteed under the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, and Genízaro accessibilities to these treaty-based protections as nonrecognized Indigenous peoples within the U.S. settler state. In effect, this chapter reconsiders the structuration of intelligible, distinctly Indigenous "livable life" through the *differántial* (Derrida 1968) expressions and embodiments of Genízaro a/political forms manifesting in northern New Mexico and beyond.

D. Significance

This project's intellectual significance extends well beyond the geopolitical boundaries of northern New Mexico as scholars in sociocultural anthropology (Niezen 2003; Sturm 2010), Native American and Indigenous studies (Andersen 2014; Kauanui 2008; Lawrence 2004), and Latinx studies (Alberto 2012; Menchaca 2001; Urrieta 2003) continue to grapple with the continued resonances of colonial logics of racialization and

their impact on indigenous struggles for collective political existences and presences within settler state settings. Specifically, my treatment of Genízaros within this study both builds and departs from a substantial scholarly knowledge base by considering Genízaro existences in relation to the structuration of intelligible, distinctly Indigenous "livable lives" (Butler 1999); exploring the epistemological underpinnings of "what can be thought" (Certeau 1988:42) as intelligible Indigenous existence by interrogating local, regional, and national structures and processes that condition the interdependent singularities of individual and collective Indigenous subjectivities. Additionally, this work delves into the analytical fabric of Indigenous transnationalism (Bauerkemper & Stark 2012; Byrd 2011; Forte 2010; Gonzales 2012; Hartley 2012; Huang et. al 2012; Warrior 2009), particularly engaging with its legal and extra-legal rhetorics by building and departing from a "critical Latinx indigenous perspective" which "forge[s] a hemispheric analysis capable of examining more than one racial structure and the multiple colonial forces (re)shaping indigeneity" (Blackwell, Boj Lopez, and Urrieta forthcoming:4-6). Taken together, this project intends to illustrate the complex social fabrics of Indigenous relationalities which transit and transgress shifting fields of power comprising the historical, political, social, and cultural landscapes of both tribal nations and setter states.

CHAPTER ONE

"¿Quién los conoce?: Education, Land, and the Pueblo de Abiquiú, 1890-1940"

> All the original settlers of Abiquiú were full blooded Pueblo Indians. In the course of time they have become citizens by intermarriage with Spaniards and Mexicans.
> —Loose Document, Register of Pupils, 1890-99, Santa Fe Indian School.

A. "Going to Indian School": An Ethnographic Introduction

Sitting in the sun-soaked kitchen, aromas of coffee, papitas, chile caribe, and freshly-made flour tortillas saturate the air. As I cautiously blow on my cup of coffee, Aurelio's gentle voice fills the room with one of his many stories about his abuelito (grandfather) Elias.[3] Aurelio really is a treasure trove of knowledge when it comes to this Genízaro Pueblo; his memory building on his abuelito's, who in turn built his on his grandfather's memory. My head already reeling from hearing another telling of the (in)famous 1927 vote to self-renounce their "Indian Pueblo status" freshly in my mind, Aurelio launches into another: this one, though, recounting his abuelito's experience "going to Indian school in Santa Fe." He explains how his abuelito "wasn't the only one from the Pueblo to go there"—many youth from Abiquiú "went to Indian school." As he begins identifying those who he believes had attended, it becomes clear that these former students are no longer living as he prefaces each name with "el dijunto" or "la dijunta."

[3] Throughout the entirety of this dissertation, I use pseudonyms to protect the identities of the people with whom I worked.

But, he maintains, Abiquiú children, like his abuelito Elias, were sent to Indian school "just like our Pueblo neighbors."

Aurelio's dark brown eyes are trained on me now; trying to gauge my reaction to this information. With a mouthful of papitas and chile, I hurriedly gulp down the food and take a swig of coffee to quickly wash it down; leading to a rather embarrassing coughing fit at the hands of chile caribe. After gaining my composure, I shake my head and croak how I had never heard this before. Cracking a wide smile, Aurelio stands up from his seat at the table; his weathered leather boots booming throughout the house as he makes his way to a backroom. Less than a minute later he returns with a stack of old papers: baptisms, marriages, photos, and much more. After gently spreading them across the table, Aurelio proudly beams over his "labor of love." Tenderly caressing a tattered, black-and-white photograph in his weather-beaten hands, he explains that the young boy standing in the picture is his abuelito Elias. The slender, dark-skinned little boy can't be older than seven—maybe eight—years old; his nearly-shaved head showing a noticeable scar on his scalp. Seated next to him is his father, Ignacio; himself a tall, dark-skinned lanky man with a bigote (mustache), much like Aurelio. Yet, it is Elias who keeps my attention. A laundry list of questions flood through my mind on how this little boy from Abiquiú could possibly attend a federal Indian boarding school. His straight-faced gaze seems like it has so much it wants to say. I suppose I just need to listen.

B. An Introductory Epilogue

Elias would certainly have a story to tell, alongside the other Abiquiú children who passed through the halls of the Santa Fe Indian School between 1898 and 1930. Yet,

as I continued following the "ebbs and flows" (Galloway 2006) of countless archival collections located across the U.S., the more apparent it became that this story has multiple entry points manifesting in tandem and in tension with one another. The challenge then becomes how to properly represent and contextualize this chapter's multifocal analytical sites: the U.S. Industrial Indian School in Santa Fe; the public schoolhouse in the Pueblo de Abiquiú; and the Genízaro Pueblo land grant, "La Merced de los Indios Genízaros del Pueblo de Santa Tomás Apóstol de Abiquiú." Indeed, this chapter must somehow stitch together the highly-variegated histories of federal Indian education policy, public education in New Mexico, and land tenure in the Rio Chama valley into its analytical tapestry. Rather than restricting this text "to the reconstruction of an individual event; it narrates it," generating a microhistorical, "narrative history" wherein "the hypotheses, the doubts, the uncertainties [become] part of the narration; the search for truth [becomes] part of the exposition of the necessarily incomplete truth attained" (Ginzburg 2012:161). This approach sounds quite familiar—like storytelling, while foregrounding the relationality between how the storyteller develops and tells the story. As the teller of this tale, it seems quite fitting to tap into a knowledge space I grew up with as a boy, while also being able to acknowledge and respect my own positionality as a Genízaro man, scholar, and ally to the community from which this knowledge flows.

Inside these pages is anything but a single story. Rather, unfolding within this chapter is a compilation of short stories whose intertextual fabrics oftentimes overlap and rip apart simultaneously. Many of these stories take place in different places, yet remain interconnected; many of their characters make multiple appearances in different stories.

Still, the primary focal point for sighting these multi-sited inscriptions remains the Pueblo de Abiquiú. This highly-contested landscape serves as a phenomenal battleground for the historical development, deployment, and dismantlement of "zones of safety," "zones of sovereignty" (Lomawaima and McCarty 2006, 2014) and, what I term, "zones of survivability" emanating from the Pueblo. The first conceptual site is explicitly intended to

> "analyze U.S. settler colonial society working in the past or present to domesticate Indigeneity; to create a containment system of 'safe Indian-ness' in order to neutralize dangerous difference and to solidify settler colonial justifications for claims to Indian land" (Lomawaima and McCarty 2014:65).

This theoretical framework actively works to make explicit the centrality of settler colonial processes and prerogatives for "[d]rawing the boundaries between safe and dangerous cultural difference" (Lomawaima and McCarty 2006:5). Equally, "zones of sovereignty" constitute Indigenous-centric analytical sites designed "to clarify the intent of staking out, protecting, and nurturing expressions of Indigeneity, and to clarify the lived reality that being Indigenous can be dangerous" (Ibid). These "practices of creative self-determination" are, indeed, expressions "of the inherent rights of peoples to self-government, self-determination, and self-education" (Lomawaima and McCarty 2014:65-66); situating Indigenous-specific political sites predicated on the individual and collective embodiment of distinct political and legal subject-positions in relation to the U.S. settler state.

The final theoretical zone—the "zone of survivability"—is of my own creation; it is neither "neutral" nor "value-free," but instead stems from my own "experience in

practice" as a Genízaro man and member of a nonrecognized Indigenous community. Particularly, it works to provide an alternative theoretical lens for framing the individual and collective presences of nonrecognized Indigenous peoples being equally subjected to U.S. settler colonial "safety zones" while also peculiarly positioned to engage and navigate zones of sovereignty as Indigenous "non-sovereigns."[4] This acknowledgement should not be interpreted as my analytical investment in settler state paradigms as the sole determinants of U.S.-based Indigenous identity politics. Rather, it magnifies the lived reality of nonrecognized, U.S.-based Indigenous existences as they negotiate shifting, relational fields of power formulating the structuration of intelligible, Indigenous livable life. While asymmetrically positioned and oftentimes deployed in contradistinction to the prerogatives of the U.S. settler state, tribal nationhood-based modes and means of power nonetheless remain as significant as their settler state counterparts in determining the structural contours, contents, and contexts of recognizable Indigeneity in the United States. For this reason, this zone of survivability opens the analytical aperture for sighting and siting nonrecognized Indigenous presences along the polarities of "safe" and "dangerous" Indigenous, minoritarian, and settler state subjectivities being constructed,

[4] The following invocations of Indigenous "non-sovereign" or Indigenous "non-nationhood" are clearly polemic. Their deployment, by no means, intends to preclude nonrecognized Indigenous interrogations and interactions with the political discourses and projects of Indigenous nationhood. Rather, it is posed as a Hegelian conceptual metaphor; a theoretical personification of an existent mode of Indigenous subject formation through which Indigenous "livable life" is read—from colonial, settler state, tribal nation, and nonrecognized Indigenous stakeholders alike. Equally, acknowledging the currency of "Indigenous non-nationhood" does not presuppose or further naturalize the legitimacy of settler state political paradigms as the sole definitional authorities of distinctly-Indigenous political existences. Instead, this analytic works to realize the complicated realities which Indigenous peoples must individually and collectively navigate in relation to the structures and processes of settler colonialism and settler state formation.

consolidated, and contorted by tribal, settler state, and nonrecognized Indigenous stakeholders alike.

C. Kill the Mexican, Save the Indian: Race and federal Indian education in New Mexico, 1890-1894

In January of 1893, William Forrest Howard was grappling with culture shock. The young man had just arrived at the newly-founded U.S. Industrial Indian School in Santa Fe, New Mexico, and unaccompanied by his wife. And he was regretting it. Apparently, the patriotic, pseudo-evangelistic idealism that had initially motivated his call to join the United States Indian Service had faded substantially since arriving at his station assignment in the territorial capital. Perhaps in his mind's eye he was to be on the spiritual front lines against heathen Indians. Instead, the white teacher likely found a scene unlike any other in the United States of America: Spanish-speaking, Catholic-observant Native peoples tilling agricultural fields, and "Mexicans" seemingly at the helm of the territory's political economy. Focusing his gaze on his students, Howard was bewildered by the sight of his affection-seeking, brown-skinned pupils, noting that "I have always been fond of fondling my sisters and younger brothers, but to caress a children of a different color—I think I shall avoid it until I've learned it by actual experience" (Ruckman 1981:42). For Howard, affection apparently had a racial litmus test.

Three weeks later, Howard penned another letter to his wife, this time devoting its entirety to a detailed description of the school's composition. These students, according to Howard, "are of various tribes…[including] Navajo, Jicarille (Hick' a re' ya/basket-

makers), Pueblos, A pach ée, and La gu' na children," adding that student attendance was just shy of 250 children until a week before. At that time, Howard continued:

> "the 'angel of the government' came and took 25 of our children away. The supervisor of the Ind. [Indian] Schools of this territory came with orders to send home a list of children whom he had said to be *white or Mexican*. They were the flowers of the school…Mr. Cart, our Supt. [Superintendent], has af-fidavits [sic] that these children are of Indian blood. (They don't look like it.) This Supervisor had no right to report them white, without an investigation. Even if they were not Indians, it would be a humane thing to do not to report them. They come from the squalor and dirt of the worst kind of hovels. They like the school. Any aid that the government would give them would not only be appreciated but it would bear fruit. They are bright and intelligent" (Ibid 42-44, emphasis added).

Howard's account provides a unique glimpse of one of the first documented iterations of Indian school "raids" against suspected-Mexican students attending boarding schools located throughout the region. In fact, my interest in this government-sponsored purging of allegedly-Mexican pupils grows when considering how administrators determined one's "whiteness," "Mexican-ness," or "Indian-ness"—particularly when school officials "quite frequently" implemented food-based disciplinary policies to discourage "a number (never one)" of students from "talking Spanish or Indian" (Ibid 45). Digging deeper into the archival memory of this institution, it becomes increasing clearer that the Indian School's hunt for supposedly-Mexican students would reveal an important reframing of the infamous Indian education battle cry of Indian fighter-turned-educator Richard Pratt of "Kill the Indian, Save the Man." In this case, Santa Fe-based officials appear to be inscriptively crying: Kill the Mexican, Save the Indian.

Under the "Cause" heading for official records describing the basis for this January 1893 mass expulsion of these "white or Mexican" (Ibid 42) students, school administrators simply noted: "Taken home by supervisor."[5] However, when identifying these 17 male and eight female children and their home communities, over half were identified as belonging to a federally-recognized Pueblo Nation while the remainder were identified by school officials as belonging to border communities of Pueblo Nations. With only three pupils identified as "Navajo," all but two of these 25 students were classified as being Pueblo peoples with "Half" blood quanta. Their ages ranged from seven to 16 years of age and would arrive in Santa Fe in three separate waves throughout 1891: six as early as April; 14 arriving in September; the final four arriving in early November of that year.[6] In effect, for nearly two years these children were identified, acknowledged, and treated by Indian school administrators and agency officials as Native peoples eligible for accessing educational institutions specifically created for Native children. In fact, Samuel M. Cart, the Superintendent of the Santa Fe-based Indian boarding school, wrote in his August 1892 report to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Thomas Jefferson Morgan that

> "until last November the chief obstacle in the way of building up the school was the difficulty of securing children; since that date this task has been a comparatively easy one; in fact, 43 more pupils were ready to come to school, but had to be refused admittance for want of room. Of the number of children received into the school, about 70 per cent [sic] of

5 "Discharged From School," Entry 41: Register of Pupils, 1890-99, Record Group 75, National Archives and Records Administration, Denver, CO.

6 "Descriptive Record of Students as Admitted," Entry 41: Register of Pupils, 1890-99, Record Group 75, National Archives and Records Administration, Denver, CO.

> them were direct from the camps [reservations], with practically no idea of civilization."[7]

It is notable that Superintendent Cart's report did not make a single reference to the presence of "Mexicans" among his student population and, per teacher William Howard, had secured legal documentation to establish, however limited, each child's Indigeneity to properly enroll in federal Indian education institutions.

Still, Howard's nonidentification of the individual who implemented the 1893 "raid" at the government-run Indian school in Santa Fe demands more attention. Particularly, Howard makes it clear that the responsible party for this event was the "supervisor of the Ind[ian] Schools of this territory" (Ruckman 1981:44). While no such territory-specific administrator technically existed at that time, one can deduce that this "supervisor" was most likely the Superintendent of Indian Schools for the federal Office of Indian Affairs (OIA) located in Washington, D.C., Dr. Daniel Dorchester, who "[a]s in previous years" had been adhering to "the wishes of the Office by continuing in the field, inspecting the schools at remote points," including the Santa Fe school as of August of 1892.[8] Particularly, this conclusion is supported by the fact that Dr. Dorchester was in the region specifically at the request of Indian Affairs commissioner Morgan, sending Dorchester in March of 1892 with a mandate that he "make a critical, comprehensive,

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[7] United States. Department of the Interior. Office of Indian Affairs. *Reports of the Superintendents of Indian Schools to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1892*, Washington, D.C., 1892. http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/History.AnnRep92

[8] Ibid.

and, so far as practical, exhaustive study of the situation in New Mexico among the Pueblo Indians" since Morgan considered

> "the present situation of the New Mexico Indians as particularly interesting, owing to the fact that, while they are not recognized as citizens of the United States, they have by some courts been declared to be such, and they are not so fully under the control of the Indian Office as to enable it to put into operation, for their benefit, the law of compulsory attendance. It must, therefore, depend very largely upon persuasion for increasing the attendance at the schools."[9]

Additionally, Commissioner Morgan's 1892 report suggests an explicit interest in the Indian office's desire to clarify the political and legal definability of "Indian-ness" within the United States. Morgan seems to telescope the specificity of his interest in a rather heated textual exchange buried in the 1892 Report's appendix containing published correspondence between Morgan and Archbishop Jean-Baptiste Salpointe of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Santa Fe. Spanning between April 1891 to August 1892, the central point of contention between the two men appears to be Morgan's belief that Catholic clergy were working to undermine Pueblo enrollments in government-run boarding schools. It is Morgan's response to Salpointe's invocation of Pueblo territorial citizenship, and therefore non-Indian status, where the Commissioner replies:

> "It is well known that the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico have been declared by the courts of the Territory to be citizens of the United States, and, although this office holds that they are not strictly such, the question is still an unsettled one, and it is possible that is the matter was carried into the courts it might be determined that the United States is not authorized to compel the attendance of their children at school. Whatever their political status is, however, they are Indians and are greatly in need of the kind of training that shall fit them to compete with the white civilization

[9] Ibid.

> by which they are surrounded; and the necessity for this training increases every year."[10]

In effect, the highest-ranking federal official in the Indian office simply dismissed judicial precedent established by Territorial case law and unilaterally determined the appropriateness of establishing educational institutions on behalf of, and thus extending federal plenary power over, Pueblo children. Taken together, it seems quite feasible that Dorchester was micromanaging the Santa Fe school's affairs in 1893 as a reflection of Commissioner Morgan's concern with Pueblo Indigeneity and its impact on his Office's political and legal authority over Pueblo Nations in the Territory of New Mexico.

Beginning in November of the following year, Indian school administrators conducted another "raid" for supposedly-Mexican children attending the government-run boarding school in Santa Fe. This time, school officials did not mask their anti-Mexican agenda within official school records; expelling 15 children—10 boys and five girls—from seven to 18 years of age. Ten of these children would be expelled on the grounds of being "Too much Mexican;" while the remaining five were either "expelled" (one student), "sent home" (one student), or "ran away" (three students) on the grounds of their being "Mexican," "half Mexican," or "too much Mexican," according to school discharge records. In fact, Indian school officials gleefully wrote about one expelled student: "Happy riddance, perfectly worthless, too much Mexican;" another student expelled on the basis that they were "Not believed to be an Indian." Indeed, one seven-year old boy was sent back to his home and "instructed by Dept. [department] to get rid

[10] Ibid, 165.

of Mexican blood."[11] School administrators never clarified what exactly constituted the sanguinely character of "Mexican-ness." However, they appear to be suggesting that the child's "Mexican blood" was disposable enough for considering the possibility of his returning to the school. Fascinatingly enough, nine of these children were identified within Indian school records as belonging to four federally-recognized Pueblo Nations; three belonging to border communities of Pueblo Nations; and the remaining three—all siblings—simply identified as "Pueblo."[12] Additionally, all but five were identified with "Half" degrees of "Indian blood"—the remaining four with "Full," and one with "3/4." Unlike the 1893 sweep, this second "raid" for suspected-Mexicans would overwhelmingly target newly-arrived students; this anti-Mexican campaign beginning in late-November and extending into early-January of 1895. Interestingly, there were two students who enrolled in the school as early as April and October of 1891, respectively.[13] Why these students were overlooked during the school's initial purging of allegedly-Mexican students in 1893 remains unclear.

John Gram (2015:72) argues in his recent book, *Education at the Edge of Empire: Negotiating Pueblo Identity in New Mexico's Indian Boarding Schools*, that the "practice of accepting children of largely Hispanic decent" was an "uncommon" byproduct of shrewd school superintendents working "to boost enrollment" figures at boarding schools

11 "Historical Record," Entry 41: Register of Pupils, 1890-99, Record Group 75, National Archives and Records Administration, Denver, CO.

12 "Descriptive Record of Students as Admitted." Entry 41: Register of Pupils, 1890-99, Record Group 75, National Archives and Records Administration, Denver, CO.

13 Ibid.

in Albuquerque and Santa Fe. Indeed, he argues that school administrators deployed a two-part test for determining "who was truly Indian: how much Indian ancestry a student could prove (by blood quantum levels) and where a student lived (presumably only Indians lived in 'Indian' communities)," concluding that "Mexican" became the label/identity imposed upon students who "did not sufficiently meet both qualifications" (Ibid). While not necessarily challenging the overarching saliency of Gram's highlighting of the overtly racialist formulas being used for "separating the 'Mexicans' from the 'Indians,'" the 1893 and 1894 raids provide a distinct expressive register for complicating and clarifying the simplicity of his position.

Unfortunately, individual enrollment records for both sets of children do not exist. The only textual remains of their presences at the boarding school in Santa Fe can be found in a massive Register of Pupils created and maintained by school administrators. Consequently, it remains unclear whether blood quantum figures or even tribal nation/home community information were being imposed by government officials, or self-identified by the children themselves or their parents. Realizing that parental consent was not required for enrolling Native children in off-reservation boarding schools until 1894 and 1895—its written form not mandated until 1896 (Reyher and Eder 2004:149)—there is room for healthy skepticism of government (mis)representations of Native children attending their schools. It is notable however that of the 25 children comprising the 1893 group, over half (14) were identified as being from the federally-recognized Pueblo of Isleta; six from a border community just north of Isleta Pueblo, Peralta; the remaining three coming from another border community straddling Isleta's southern

border, Los Lentes. Indeed, all but one of these children were identified with a blood quantum of "Half."[14] Adding these findings with William Howard's observation of school disciplinary policies directly tied to persistent "Spanish or Indian" (Ruckman 1981:45) language practice among the student body, these textual images illustrate a "safety zone" being developed by school administrators, within which "safe Indian-ness" and "dangerous difference" must now account for the region's "new racial hierarchy…between nonwhite groups" (Gram 2015:10) in New Mexico. This accounting effort by school officials appears to have had an intense interest on distinguishing who was and who was not "Indian enough" through the racialization of "Mexican-ness" as antithetical to New Mexico-based Indigeneity—"safe" or "dangerous"—in the region.

The 1894 group of expelled children may provide a slightly clearer picture of this idea. Again, no enrollment records exist for these students other than what school officials wrote in the Register. However, the composition of this group is quite revealing; with six of the 15 identified from either Valencia (two), Los Lunas (one), and three simply identified as "Pueblo." The remaining nine came from four federally-recognized Pueblo Nations: Cochiti (six); Laguna (one); Nambé (one), and Ohkay Owingeh (one).[15] As far as blood quantum is concerned: not one of these children had less than "half" degree of Indian blood; with four apparently having "Full" and one having "3/4" degrees

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[14] Ibid.

[15] The Pueblo name "Ohkay Owingeh" itself does not appear in Register records to identify the expelled child in 1894. Instead, school administrators identified the Pueblo by its former name, "San Juan." To insist on using its current name may not constitute much in the broader scope of this writing. Still, it comprises a meaningful political act on my part to acknowledge this federally-recognized Pueblo Nation as it sees itself today, rather than reify the imposition of Spanish colonial naming practices for Pueblo Nations.

of Indian blood—this latter group all identified with Pueblo Nations. Putting these events into conversation with Gram's rhetorical tests for "Indian-ness," the "raids" appear to unravel his thesis at its analytical seams.

Particularly, of the total 41 children expelled in both years, 23 are identified as belonging to federally-recognized Pueblo Nations. Equally, 11 of those 41 were identified as living in border communities situated just outside of Pueblo Nations. That leaves just seven of those 41 students who were not identified as belonging to, as Gram calls terms, "Indian communities," but instead as being only "Pueblo." However, 33 of those 41 children were identified with a blood quantum of "Half." Considering Howard's insistence that school superintendent Samuel Cart had legally-binding sworn statements vouching for the "Indian-ness" of all 25 students rounded up in the 1893 group, Cart's efforts did not appear to satisfy Superintendent Dorchester's litmus test of "Indian-ness," instead undermining the legal legitimacy of those affidavits by apparently labeling all 25 as "white or Mexican." Howard appears to give some credence to Dorchester's assessment when noting their failure to satisfy his own litmus test concerning authentic Indigenous physiognomy.

Pivoting to the 1894 group, some of the most forceful rejections of Indigeneity, and applications of "Mexican-ness," were centered on those children belonging to federally-recognized Pueblo Nations—particularly those identified with having "Full" degrees of Indian blood. These five children would appear to satisfy Gram's "Indian enough" test, and yet they were expelled. Apparently, belonging to a Pueblo Nation, or even satisfying the government's own colonialist instrument of blood quantum, could not

overcome the very inference of being "Mexican." Yet this narrative is complicated even further by the fact that two of these "full-blood" Cochiti Pueblo children—siblings—were expelled on the basis of being "Too much Mexican to be kept under orders from Dept.," while a "half-blood" seven year-old boy from a border community of Isleta Pueblo, Los Lunas—expelled on the very same day as the Cochiti children—was "instructed by [the] Dept. [department] to get rid of [his] Mexican blood." Indeed, the boy's initial discharge record shows administrators labeling the "Cause" for his expulsion as being "Too much Mexican," while the "Historical Record," which elaborates on the specific circumstances surrounding a child's expulsion, leaves open the possibility of his reenrollment—albeit predicated on the bloodletting of his "Mexican blood." In effect, there appears to be a strategy to how Indian school officials in Santa Fe deployed "Mexican-ness" onto the student body.

It is this instrumentality of "Mexican-ness" within these raids which leads this analysis to Gram's conclusion that Mexican presences in the Indian schools were simply insurance policies for securing bloated boarding school budgets. On one end, he argues that Mexican presences simply padded enrollment numbers for New Mexico-based, off-reservation boarding school budget requests to Washington. On the other, he notes how they threatened those very budgets if they were to be recruited to attend Indian boarding schools located outside of New Mexico. This duplicitous enrollment policy, for Gram (Ibid 73), seems to be "far more likely" an issue of Indian school economics, with anti-Mexican racism as a notable-albeit-negligible sidebar. Yet, the 1893 and 1894 "raids" for supposedly-Mexican students offer a slightly different interpretation for this market-

based conclusion. Indeed, these "raids" occurred during a moment when government-run boarding schools in New Mexico were desperately working to build up their enrollment numbers—a fact made quite clear by the public argument in 1892 between the highest-ranking federal official for Indian affairs and a Roman Catholic archbishop in New Mexico. Yet, school officials conducted multiple, back-to-back "raids," a seemingly counterintuitive policy to implement as more pupils would translate into more federal dollars flowing into school, agency, and Indian office coffers. No, something else seems to be afoot here.

Admittedly, what is not the focus of this analysis is proving or disproving the "Indian-ness" of these children. Rather, what piques my interest is the discursive power of Mexican racialization within the government-run Indian boarding school in Santa Fe. By its very utterance, "Mexican-ness" could potentially undermine, at the very least, the operationalization of colonialist ideologies of Indigeneity, like blood quantum, being imposed onto Native bodies in New Mexico. In the cases of the five "full-blood" and 14 "half-blood" Pueblo children from federally-recognized Pueblo Nations, it obliterated the instrumentality of blood quantum altogether. Indeed, perhaps "Mexican-ness" was being utilized by these 19 Pueblo youth as a means of resistance; wherein their being "too much Mexican" translated to them escaping the abusive conditions of the Indian schools without necessarily losing any of their rights and responsibilities as relatives, community members, and tribal citizens of their respective Pueblo Nations. Equally, in the cases of the 11 children identified from border communities of Pueblo Nations, "Mexican-ness" may have operated as a bureaucratic rejection of their relatedness to Pueblo kin living just

on the other side of the border. Yet, these perspectives do not intend to reduce "Mexican-ness" as either resistive or repressive. Rather, echoing Lomawaima and McCarty's (2014:66) call for interrogating "practices of control, marginalization, and disenfranchisement" enfolded in settler colonial processes and institutions, including Indian boarding schools, the instrumentality of "Mexican-ness" takes a different tone; itself serving as a "containment system" (Ibid 65) for simultaneously evacuating *recognizable* Indigenousness, while (re)constituting *racializable* Indigenousness. Each register of this term bolsters the marriage of U.S. settler colonialism and white supremacy in the region, a racialist calculus relegating "Mexican-ness" as: socially, politically, and racially distinct from, and inferior to, whiteness; while, at the same time, consolidating and crystallizing the discursive contours of intelligible, distinctly Indigenous livable life in New Mexico by embodying its social death and racialized specter. While its impact on the legitimacy of settler colonial measurement instruments of Indigeneity is perhaps devastating at first, it is only temporary. Indeed, it minimizes the damage done to the structure by, in the very same analytical breath, illustrating the structuration of Indigenous livable life through its very incommensurability; that intelligible Indigeneity in New Mexico is discernable, knowable, and measurable by demarcating its racialized residues as "Mexican-ness." Ultimately, the ways in which "Mexican-ness" manifests within the 1893 and 1894 "raids" underscores an elevated awareness and heightened sensitivity among Indian school officials for identifying and amplifying *what* and *who* was "Indian enough" to be educated, and thus treated, as an "Indian" in New Mexico.

D. Public Education, Land Tenure, and the Pueblo de Abiquiú: 1890-1930

Three years before Indian school administrators implemented the first state-sanctioned "raid" for suspected-Mexicans attending the Santa Fe boarding school, a 54 year-old Mexican national, former Comanche captive sold in the Pueblo de Abiquiú, and now-saloon owner named Casimiro Perez was elected to lead the Pueblo de Abiquiú's recently-revived public school board of directors. Serving alongside Perez were two local Republican political powerhouses: recent constitutional convention delegate and attorney J.M.C. Chávez, Jr.; and local businessman and Notary Public, Emiterio Espinosa. After its first meeting in February of 1890, the board did not reconvene for ten months, at which time they began the meticulous work of reopening the Pueblo's public school by first negotiating a three-month salaried teaching contract with the only applicant for the teaching position, Epifanio Jaramillo—with the option of extending another three months in June of 1891.

Only one month later, Espinosa resigned from the Board, instead taking a teaching position in the public school district located just on the other side of the river in Plaza Colorada. Espinosa's vacancy was immediately filled by County Superintendent of Public Schools Mariano Larragoite's appointment of local Democratic party official and Justice of the Peace, Juan de Jesús Duran. During this meeting, the Board conducted schoolhouse rental contract negotiations with newly-appointed school director Duran to lease his own property as the school, as well as signing off on a similar contract for firewood to be provided to the school by Jesús María García, another local Democratic figure and Perez's brother-in-law. Less than two weeks after these contracts were signed,

both García and Jaramillo, in addition to Manuel García, a local merchant and former County Commissioner, were elected to the Pueblo's school board as part of a Democratic slate. However, in late March of 1891, the lame-duck school board was forced to shut down the school after Jaramillo reported an illness running rampant among his students. Still, the board made sure to fulfill its contractual obligations to Duran and García, and in one of their final acts approved the payment of back-rent apparently due to outgoing Republican board member Chávez for renting his house "*en años pasados*," or for years past.[16]

During the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, the Rio Chama valley was a political powerhouse in territorial- and early statehood-era New Mexico politics. It was the home to some of the most prominent figures of the Santa Fe Ring, and most especially for "la otra banda ring" (Lopez 2010:297), or a "local euphemism" used to identify "land speculators that resided on the 'other,' or north, bank of the Rio Chama, which marked the north boundary of the Pueblo de Abiquiú [land] grant." Indeed, one cannot separate the history of public education in the Rio Chama valley from the political climate of Rio Arriba County. Even after the territorial legislature worked to develop the legal and financial support structures needed to support a public education system in New Mexico as early as 1855, territorial legislators from the counties of Rio Arriba, Santa Ana, Socorro, Taos, and Valencia built into the schools-specific property tax law a set of

16 Abiquiu Public School Board of Directors Ledger Book, Pueblo de Abiquiú Library and Cultural Center, Pueblo de Abiquiú, NM. Courtesy of Pueblo de Abiquiu Library and Cultural Center, Gift of Ferran Family in memory of Seledon Garcia.

provisions which not only exempted from taxation those "residents whose property value did not exceed $50," but also that "the people of these counties could decide by popular vote whether they would be subjected to these laws" (Wiley 1967:32; Tórrez and Trapp 2010). After the vote was tallied in all five counties, the total stood at "5,053 against and 37 in favor of public school support by taxation" (Wiley 1967:32). In 1872 and 1876 territorial policymakers decided to shift the funding burden for public schools "upon the culprit," wherein fines collected for violations including "burial of the dead on Sunday; fines for Sunday sports, such as cockfighting; and fines for marriage for 'close relatives'" (Ibid) were to be the sole funding streams for county school funds. Ultimately, school funding for Rio Arriba County-based schools did come, in part, from a marginal property tax, alongside other funding sources including, leasing or selling public school lands, a one-dollar poll tax applied to every male, as well as a portion of liquor and gaming license fees (Tórrez and Trapp 2010:184). Still, there was an unwillingness by property owners and special interest groups alike (Wiley 1967) to tap into full tax potential of an already highly-contested landscape to fund public education. Schools and property—or at least its taxation—did not make dollars and sense in territorial New Mexico.

Yet this unwillingness to tie education to subject formation and taxation did not extend to the debate over Pueblo Indigeneity and political enfranchisement in the territory. As Deborah Rosen (2007:183) cogently elaborates at length:

> "Much of the debate about the status of the Pueblo Indians focused on the collective characteristics that distinguished them from other Indians. In New Mexico, government officials in the 1850s and 1860s most often characterized the Pueblo Indians as "half civilized," frequently noting that, unlike most other Indians, they lived a settled life in towns, supported

> themselves through agriculture rather than hunting, had a stable political structure, lived peacefully with their neighbors, and dressed and behaved in a decorous manner."

Even after the territorial legislature in 1847 passed legislation defining Pueblo peoples and communities as simply "quasi-corporations" that could "sue an defend collectively in lawsuits relating to their [Pueblo] land," territorial governors—who were directly appointed by the President of the United States—and Indian office administrators "believed that the Pueblo Indians should not have to initiate litigation to protect their lands but should be able to depend on the federal government for protection of their property" (Ibid; Hall 1984). Indeed, when enacting the first pieces of legislation formally establishing the public education system in the territory in 1855-1856, the very first section of the territory's first "school laws" mandates a "Tax for education," specifically:

> "Every male inhabitant in the Territory of New Mexico, *(Pueblo Indians excepted*), who has arrived at the age of twenty-one years, is hereby required to pay a tax for the education of the youth of the Territory, as hereinafter provided" (as cited in Hodgin 1906:8, emphasis added).

Indeed, this legislation makes explicit the significance of taxation to Pueblo political enfranchisement and educational opportunity in New Mexico; or rather, how Pueblo peoples were already legislated as embodying Indigenous subject-positions which were in contradistinction to, or at least in tension with, embodying political subjectivities which could be subsumed into the body politic of the territory and the U.S. settler state. Simply put, Pueblo Indigeneity and territory-funded educational accessibility were deemed unthinkable and unlawful by territorial legislators at the very moment that the public education system is legally established under U.S. law, while Pueblo absences from

territorial political life further solidified Indian office desires to extend federal plenary power over Pueblo Nations as "Indians" under U.S. law.

Yet, in the case of the Pueblo de Abiquiú, schools, property, and political life are interconnected. Returning to Casimiro Perez, it is notable that in 1883, he alongside his brother-in-law, Jesús María García, Juan de Jesús Duran, Manuel García, and 14 other men sign a power of attorney agreement with a local attorney to serve as their legal representative to the United States Surveyor General's Office of New Mexico and submit a petition for approving their claim to "La Merced de los Indios Genísaros [sic] del Pueblo de Santo Tomás Apóstol de Abiquiú," or the Land Grant of the Genízaro Indians of the Pueblo of Santo Tomás Apóstol de Abiquiú.[17] That attorney was J.M.C. Chávez, whose shrewd legal maneuverings led to the Surveyor General's own inscriptive performance of legal acrobatics within his 1885 report to Congress.[18] Specifically, these actions resulted in the Office's favorable recommendation for approving the private land claim as a historical Pueblo land grant, but devoid of the very Indigenous peoples from which that grant's character derives. Not only does this two-pronged maneuver accomplish the goal of expanding the grant's size, and therefore claimable acreage for land speculators like himself, it also ensures the disciplining of Genízaro Indigeneity as "half-breed Indians." Indeed, by translating the term "Genízaro" to mean "half-breed Indian," the Office unilaterally invoked, transformed, and entombed Abiquiú-based

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[17] Copy of Power of Attorney to J.M.C. Chavez by Reyes Gonzales et al., January 12, 1883, MS 1909, Chavez Family Papers, Newberry Library, Chicago, IL.

[18] Opinion issued by George W. Julian, Surveyor General, in the matter of the petition of J.M.C. Chaves et al., October 28, 1885, MS 1909: Chavez Family Papers, Newberry Library, Chicago, IL.

articulations of Genízaro Indigeneity through its very silencing. "Indian land" in the Pueblo de Abiquiú was acknowledged as having the legal character of "Indian land" while explicitly negating the legal character of Genízaro Indigeneity as intelligible Indigenous existence in relation to the U.S. settler state.

This "safety zone" of Abiquiú-based Genízaro Indigeneity would haunt the Pueblo time and time again—especially as the land grant is petitioned in the Court of Private Land Claims (CPLC) in August of 1896. It is the 1896 CPLC adjudication proceedings for the "Town of Abiquiu" grant when the 1885 Surveyor General report, in tandem with the depositions of claimants themselves, is strategically deployed to methodically reshape the "Indian-ness" of Genízaro Indigeneity in the Pueblo de Abiquiú. Particularly, the August 1893 deposition of Reyes Gonzales, a Bernalillo-transplant, local merchant in the Abiquiú area, and co-plaintiff alongside J.M.C. Chávez, provides a fascinating lens into the instrumentality of Genízaro Indigeneity for both the plaintiffs and the federal government when determining the Pueblo's historical, legal, and racial character. Quoted at length below is the English translation of the deposition transcript for Reyes Gonzales:

> "Q [Catron]. By what people was the grant occupied?
> A [Gonzales]. It was occupied by the Indians of the pueblo and by other persons.
> Q [Catron]. Is there any pueblo Indians there now?
> A [Gonzales]. It is always being called the Pueblo of the half-breeds.
> Q [Catron]. Who are the people that live at the pueblo of Abiquiu, with reference to the persons that are called "Jenizaros" (half-breeds)?
> A [Gonzales]. I think that they have always lived there since the time they were born.
> Q [Catron]. The people that lived there at Abiquiu recognized, and are understood to be descendants of the original people who lived there?

A [Gonzales]. Yes, sir.
Q [Catron]. How are the people generally called and designated who live down in Abiquiu?
A [Gonzales]. They are not known except by their own proper names, except the people who have gone in from the outside and others go away after they live there awhile.
Q [Catron]. Are there any particular designation [sic] they use to the people who live in Abiquiu and those who do not live in Abiquiu?
A [Gonzales]. They use the name of the Indians but they are not all Indians.
Q [Catron]. How many half-breed Indians are there in Abiquiu if you know?
A [Gonzales]. I do not know; there are many.

Cross-examination by MR. REYNOLDS:

Q [Reynolds]. Is José María Chaves a half-breed?
A [Gonzales]. No sir none of them
Q [Reynolds]. The original settlers there you understand were Indians were they?
A [Gonzales]. They were one half.
Q [Reynolds]. Most of these people who need claim this property have in there since haven't they?
A [Gonzales]. After them…

Re-examination by MR. CATRON:

Q [Catron]. About the Indians and Mexicans inter-marrying with each other, have they since the Mexicans have been going in there?
A [Gonzales]. Yes.
Q [Catron]. And it's a mixed business now isn't it?
A [Gonzales]. Most of them.
WITNESS EXCUSED."[19]

Of immediate interest is the fact that it is Thomas B. Catron, the attorney for Reyes Gonzales, who brings up the topic of Genízaros to establish the community's legal character as being, at one time, an "Indian" community—echoing the crucial-albeit-

[19] Deposition of Reyes Gonzales, August 19, 1893, Abiquiu Grant, MSS 29BC, Thomas B. Catron Papers, Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM.

nonbinding precedent established by the 1885 Surveyor General's opinion. Gonzales not only acknowledges the connection between the Pueblo's Genízaro history and the people living there, but he connects that history to the present, seeing people in the community as Genízaros and the descendants of those Genízaros for whom the grant was originally founded. Yet Catron seems to temper Gonzales's overextension of Genízaro Indigeneity's recognizability by questioning whether people in the Pueblo have distinct names or designations—whether they have different identities or names among themselves. Gonzales backtracks; Genízaros only have "their proper names." Perhaps this was Catron's way of signaling to the court that Abiquiú-based Indigeneity deviates from similar conditions of Indigeneity in New Mexico, particularly among Pueblo peoples who may have Spanish names in addition to those specific to their tribal language and Pueblo Nation. Catron's follow-up question then pivots the narrative toward community-based practices of differentiating themselves from non-Pueblo community members; Gonzales again reinjecting the discourse of Indigeneity, only to contain and isolate its uniformity within the Pueblo. The final question is eye-opening: asking for the current figures of "Indians" present in the Pueblo, to which Gonzales deflects, but still recognizes them as current presences. Genízaro identity and Indigeneity, in effect, are discernable within the Pueblo for Gonzales, but only in certain, non-threatening ways.

Fascinatingly, it is U.S. Attorney Matt. G. Reynolds who works methodically and effectively to undermine the undergirding logic of the 1885 opinion being crafted for the court by Catron. Reynolds pulls no punches, immediately working to problematize the very credibility of a key plaintiff witness, father of co-plaintiff J.M.C. Chávez, by

discerning whether he is, in fact, a "half-breed,"—a Genízaro—and therefore *from* the community. After the negative response by Gonzales, Reynolds then connects the grant's historical origins with the Indigenous peoples for whom it was initially created. Gonzales further temper's the Pueblo's "Indian-ness" by underscoring their being "one-half," or their racial mixedness. Finally, Reynolds gets to the heart of his argument, effectively flipping Gonzales' words on their head. Instead of casting Genízaro Indigeneity as intimately connected to the land itself, Reynolds disconnects it entirely. In identifying and amplifying the rift between its "original settlers" and their lack of connection with "most of these people who need claim this property," Reynolds appears to be not only undercutting the boundary claims predicated on an Indigenous past, but challenging the very claim to the land. If "Genízaro-ness" is not necessarily tied to one's "claim" to the property, per Reynolds, then the legitimacy of the historical ground upon which it is situated becomes much less stable, much less "Indian."

Catron however does not miss a beat. He re-examines Gonzales to counter Reynolds by returning to the Genízaro Indigeneity narrative. Yet, Catron reshapes the racial parameters of the conversation altogether; coding Genízaro existences with region-based, racialist markers of "Mexican," "Indian," and intermarriage. Indeed, Catron seizes on Reynolds' "mixedness" approach as, in fact, the discursive antidote for contextualizing Genízaro identity and Indigeneity in the Pueblo de Abiquiú. Even the phrasing of his last question reads like a lighthearted joke to "domesticate Indigeneity" (Lomawaima and McCarty 2014) in the Pueblo de Abiquiú as simply a "mixed business" among "Mexicans" and "Indians." However, this flippant remark exemplifies another

shrewd legal move to encase Genízaro Indigeneity as historically-existent, now-nonexistent, but still racially viable as "Indian" to passively recognize Genízaro Indigeneity as a kind of "Indian-ness" without extending its logic to an acknowledgement of intelligible, Indigenous livable life in northern New Mexico.

Taking a step back for a moment, it should be emphatically underscored that this analysis is dependent on the court's official transcript of the English translation of Reyes Gonzales' deposition—meaning, he was originally deposed in Spanish, with his words subsequently translated into English by the court's Official Translator, famed Nuevomexicano writer Eusebio Chacón. No record exists of Chacón's Spanish translations of English-based questions, nor of Gonzales' Spanish-based responses to Chacón's Spanish translations of questions from either attorney. Instead, we have Chacón's interpretations serving as the conceptual filter for and legal basis of the official court record. However, an interesting moment occurs at the beginning of Gonzales' testimony when first identifying the "pueblo Indians" in the Pueblo de Abiquiú as "the Pueblo of the half-breeds." It is only in Catron's follow-up question when the phrase "half-breeds" is explicitly bracketed next to the term "Jenizaros" that the two terms are first connected within court testimony.

As the Gonzales deposition contains the only elicitation of—let alone, extensive elaboration on—Genízaro identity discourse within court testimony, this moment arguably serves as the first verbal enunciation of Genízaro identity, as *explicitly* "Genízaro," within a U.S. federal court. Yet, the only way to know that this moment even exists is through the vocalized effacement and assonance of Genízaro identity within the

record. Indeed, one must extrapolate from Catron's textually-bracketed connection that Chacón's English translation of Gonzales' preceding response, "Pueblo of the half-breeds" was initially expressed by Gonzales orally as, "Pueblo de los Genízaros." In effect, it appears that the very utterability of "Genízaro" demanded its immediate translation and transformation into something other than "Genízaro;" that its intelligibility, as *distinctly* "Genízaro," was inherently unrecognizable within the juridical mechanisms of the U.S. settler state.

Equally, its very illegibility is also predicated on its intelligibility. Indeed, every utterance of "half-breed" can be seen as the expressive assonance of "Genízaro" identity. Gonzales' deposition provides a unique opportunity to examine the specter of "social context" which haunts "the analysis of meaning" (Mertz 2007:338), wherein the discursive parameters of Genízaro intelligibility are being shaped by the very sociality of its interpretive contexts. Consequently, to read this deposition is to bear witness to the concurrent exposure and erasure, enunciation and elimination of Genízaro Indigeneity at the hands of the U.S. settler state. Gonzales says "Genízaro." Catron says "Genízaro." One could even argue that the U.S. Attorney says "Genízaro" through Chacón. But at its very instantiation, its provocative potentiality is instantly restrained by the "containment system" (Lomawaima and McCarty 2014) of a state-sponsored "half-breed Indian" alter ego. The "dangerous difference" of Genízaro Indigeneity is immediately neutralized by insisting on its alter ego as the only *recognizable* ego in the eyes of the federal Court of Private Land Claims. Yet, all one would have likely heard in the courtroom that day—in Spanish, at least—was "Genízaro."

Only four months after the CPLC decree confirms the "Town of Abiquiu" grant as a private land claim in 1896, Abiquiú public school board directors Santiago García, Jesús María Durán, and Epimenio Suazo would promptly negotiate three-month contracts for a teacher, renting a house to serve as the school, and firewood with Epifanio Jaramillo, Francisco Madrid, and José Quintana respectively. Unlike the previous school term, the financial solvency of the school district did not seem to be in question as board members move forward with the 1897 school term set to begin on December 18, 1896.[20] Yet by January of 1897, a letter appears in the personal ledger book of local Democratic party leader Juan de Jesús Duran, former school board member and father of current school board member, Jesús María Duran. Interestingly, the letter is not addressed to the school board, but instead written directly to the teacher and Juan de Jesús's son-in-law, Epifanio Jaramillo.[21] County Superintendent of Public Schools Antonio Vargas purportedly writes that Jaramillo does not have the authority to open the school after Vargas passed an order to shut down the school. The superintendent was apparently made aware of Jaramillo's insistence on continuing with his plans to teach—despite the order—and cautions Jaramillo against it; warning Jaramillo that he will not be paid since there are no funds.

It appears that Vargas's warning resonated with district leaders, for there is no record of official business being conducted until seven months later, in July of 1897,

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[20] Abiquiu Public School Board of Directors Ledger.

[21] JP, Record Book, Abiquiu, Accession 1974-024 – Rio Arriba County, N.M. Records, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe, NM.

when Jesús María Duran meets with new school board members Sostenes Suazo and Isabel Martinez to elect Martinez as board President and Duran as Secretary. The next meeting does not occur until December of the same year, wherein the board officially voices its frustration after receiving no response from Vargas after sending a letter requesting clarification on the district's financial solvency and, indeed, their very capacity to open the school at all. The matter was never resolved, for the next board action, occurring in July of 1898, solely comprised of the swearing-in of returning school board member Casimiro Perez as President, and newly-elected member Antonio Trujillo as board Treasurer, with Suazo remaining as Secretary.[22]

While no district-specific enumeration records exist during this period for determining the size and scope of those being impacted by the school's inconsistent presence in the Pueblo, it is possible to grasp their relationship to the broader expansions and contractions taking place throughout Rio Arriba County during the same period. Indeed, it is notable that in 1895, the Territorial Superintendent of Public Instruction's annual report shows Rio Arriba County's 41 school districts reporting every eligible child (755 males, 328 females, 1083 in total), from the ages of five to 21, as enrolled in the County's 36 public schools, with 932 (670 males, 262 females) attending school regularly throughout the three-month term. In the Territorial Superintendent's following report in 1896, the County apparently created two more school districts, shut down three schools, and showed a surge in the enrollment of girls (421) and boys (780) in public school

[22] Abiquiu Public School Board of Directors Ledger.

classrooms. In total, 1201 children of the County's 1229 eligible children (777 males, 452 females) were reportedly enrolled in 33 public schools, with only 908 (623 males, 285 females) attending daily. By 1897, the County had dissolved 21 school districts, leaving only 24 schools within the 22 remaining districts to serve the 772 enrolled children (521 males, 251 females) out of an inaccurately-reported eligible student population of 741 (498 males, 253 females)—of which, 498 (365 males, 132 females) regularly attended. Yet, by 1898 the County apparently made a fully recovery—and then some; restoring almost all school districts to 1896 levels and re-opening seven schools for the exploding eligible student population—roughly three times the number than the previous year, and nearly eight times the number of young women apparently eligible to receive a public education.[23]

The Pueblo de Abiquiú would not partake in this growth, however. Instead, it would be one of the first communities to have its schoolhouse doors shuttered in February of 1896, and remain so until January of 1899. This nearly three-year-long closure would eclipse the last public education blackout in the Pueblo lasting from February of 1892 to November of 1893. One of the most intriguing insights arising from this irregular accessibility of public education within the Pueblo is the fact that, since 1891, local districts were fully empowered to levy district-specific school bonds against all taxable properties within its boundaries for the explicit purposes of establishing both

[23] Chaves, Amado. "Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction." Territory of New Mexico, Territorial Archives of New Mexico, Reel 72: Frames 1-261. Microform. Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM.

independent public schoolhouses and paying teacher salaries.[24] According to district records, not one school board exercised this taxation power deriving from the Territory of New Mexico.[25] This levy was not, of course, unilaterally imposed; its introduction then triggered a required vote by all eligible, poll tax-paying voters living inside the district. On one end, perhaps this was a way to ensure that tax levies did not eat into the profit margins of land speculators with properties located inside the Pueblo. On the other end, perhaps this was the silent flexing of the Pueblo's collective political muscle in opposition to market-driven litigation and land policies designed to expropriate common land holdings inside the Pueblo. Or perhaps these disruptions simply reflect local manifestations of bureaucratic inefficiencies within nineteenth-century public school finance in northern New Mexico. Either way, it appears that children from the Pueblo de Abiquiú were not "entitled to attend the schools of their districts," contrary to Territorial law, for more than four years in an eight-year period.[26]

E. Abiquiú Indigeneity and the Santa Fe Indian School, 1898-1930[27]

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[24] Compilation of the School Laws of New Mexico Containing Laws and Parts of Laws Relating to Public Schools, 1895, Territory of New Mexico.

[25] Abiquiu Public School Board of Directors Ledger.

[26] Compilation of the School Laws of New Mexico Containing Laws and Parts of Laws Relating to Public Schools, 1895, Territory of New Mexico.

[27] The methodological approach to this section will deviate from the previous insistence on identifying the names of public officials. While this project's Exempt determination by the Institutional Review Board at The University of Texas at Austin does not require my withholding of personally-identifying information, I refuse to reveal the entirety of that data concerning the children of the Pueblo de Abiquiú. If any information is utilized, it will be in the form of the child's surname in order to broadly acknowledge and situate Abiquiú presences in government-run Indian boarding schools with Pueblo-specific relationships and kinship networks. Still, this self-imposed restriction of child-specific data does not extend to that of public officials spanning local, County, territorial, and federal levels of government. However, when there is an overlap between the two, this analysis will still withhold their names, but acknowledge their relationship to the public official. As an enactment of "ethnohistorical refusal," I must recognize my own

For almost half a decade, Pueblo de Abiquiú youth and families had little, if any, alternatives for pursuing—let alone, accessing—an education in their own community. Indeed, even with the self-determined actions by local school board directors and school teacher, Epifanio Jaramillo, to open the Pueblo's public school in spite of newly-elected County Superintendent Antonio Vargas's explicit directive demanding its closure, it appears that County officials were certainly willing to overlook Abiquiú's legally-mandated "entitlement" to public education. According to County Commission records, at the same time as Vargas shuts down nine schools and 22 school districts, while shedding hundreds of children from the rolls of eligible and enrolled children within County public schools due to a lack of funds, his three-month salary actually increases.[28] Consequently, there seems to be a form of poetic justice to the County's flouting of territorial public education policy when the first child identified from Abiquiú to enroll in the U.S. Industrial Indian School in Santa Fe, New Mexico in October of 1898 would have their "Indian-ness" informally validated by none other than Territorial Superintendent of Public Instruction, Amado Chaves.

Hastily attached to the back cover of the school's colossal leather-bound Register of Pupils, Chaves writes to the superintendent of the government-run boarding school, Andrew Veits, in support of the 10 year-old Martinez boy's admission into the Indian school, stating, "all the original settlers of Abiquiú were full blooded Pueblo Indians. In

responsibilities and accountability to my informants inside the Pueblo de Abiquiú—many of whom have direct or extended kinship connections to these children.

28 Book 1, County Commission Archives, Rio Arriba County Clerk, Tierra Amarilla, NM.

the course of time they have become citizens by intermarriage with Spaniards and Mexicans."[29] While undated and unsigned, it is overwhelmingly evident that Chaves wrote this initial letter when considering that another letter found among the secreted loose documents in the Register is dated the same month and year and typewritten on his official letterhead, and bears his signature, writing:

> "*I send you another boy from Abiquiú* and will be very thankful if you will admit him to th [sic] school. [H]e was sent to me by his mother/ He is one half blood Indian and is a cousin of…Martinez the boy *I took over to you*."[30]

In yet another secreted loose, Chaves sends a signed, handwritten note, dated December 6, 1898, to Indian school Superintendent Veits, stating "The bearer, Mr. Jaramillo will turn over to you 8 children. I wish you would kindly receive them. They are half Indian. Please pay Mr. Jaramillo from bringing them."[31] Coinciding with this date is the first mass enrollment of Abiquiú children (six males and two females with Archuleta, Duran, Jaramillo, Martinez, and Salazar surnames) entering the Santa Fe-based boarding school—ranging in age from six to 18 years of age.[32] The identity of this Jaramillo man being paid for bringing these children remains unclear. Still, it is notable that a child of Epifanio Jaramillo, a former school director and teacher for the Pueblo's public school, is among the eight newly-enrolled pupils. One month later, Jaramillo would successfully

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[29] Chaves to Veits, undated, Loose Documents, Entry 41: Register of Pupils, 1890-99, Record Group 75, National Archives and Records Administration, Denver, CO.

[30] Chaves to Veits, October 29, 1898, Loose Documents, Entry 41: Register of Pupils, 1890-99, Record Group 75, National Archives and Records Administration, Denver, CO.

[31] Chaves to Veits, December 6, 1898, Loose Documents, Entry 41: Register of Pupils, 1890-99, Record Group 75, National Archives and Records Administration, Denver, CO.

[32] "Descriptive Record of Students as Admitted." Entry 41: Register of Pupils, 1890-99, Record Group 75, National Archives and Records Administration, Denver, CO.

negotiate a three-month contract with the Pueblo's public school directors to teach at the school once again.[33]

While still comprising the first substantial wave of Abiquiú children to enroll in the government-run Indian boarding school, they would in fact join six other children (with Martinez and Vigil surnames) who had arrived at the school sporadically between early-October and mid-November of that same year. Of these original 14 children arriving in 1898, only three boys, all first cousins, were dropped by Indian school officials in September of 1899—two of which would return to the school two weeks later. Meanwhile, in the August 1899 census consisting of all eligible students residing inside the Pueblo's public school district, school board Secretary Donaciano Gallegos identifies 37 children. One week later, two children of former board Secretary Antonio Trujillo enroll in the Indian school—one appearing in both the Pueblo's public school census and Indian school's Register of Pupils. By the 1900 school term, the Pueblo de Abiquiú's enrollment at the Indian school would total 27 (adding children with Duran, Garcia, Gallegos, Jaramillo, Manzanares, Martinez, and Trujillo surnames)—all but one child arriving at the school on September 10, 1899. Conversely, the August 1900 public school district enumeration of school-aged children residing inside the Pueblo explodes to 89—seven of whom could also be found enrolled in the Santa Fe school's Register of Pupils.[34]

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[33] Abiquiu Public School Board of Directors Ledger.

[34] "Descriptive Record of Students as Admitted." Entry 41: Register of Pupils, 1890-99, Record Group 75, National Archives and Records Administration, Denver, CO.

After this date, the archival record becomes less clear in discerning the flow of Abiquiú children between and within both public school and Indian school records. In the case of the former, school board officials conducted another enumeration in 1903, and would not reinstitute the practice until 1916. Likewise, Indian school administrators in Santa Fe shifted their record-keeping practices from the mammoth-like Register of Pupils to two smaller ledger books spanning the years 1903 to 1909; one dedicated to the daily attendance of pupils, while the other comprising an enrollment record of every pupil in residence at the boarding school throughout the school year. Despite these challenges, the broader "ebbs and flows" (Galloway 2006) of Abiquiú enrollments remain discernable, with 14 children enrolling in 1898, swelling to 27 in 1900, peaking at 35 in 1905, and then dwindling to only two children by the end of the 1909 term. Unfortunately, no records exist to determine the rationale behind this first mass expulsion of Abiquiú children from the Indian schools. However, we can determine that it was Clinton J. Crandall who oversaw their reception and rejection as Superintendent of the Santa Fe Indian School between 1900 and 1912.

There are many peculiarities about Abiquiú presences within the school which both complicate and clarify the "the established system of concessions" (Gram 2015:40) operating between Pueblo Nations and school superintendents at the Santa Fe boarding school. First, it appears that Territorial Superintendent of Public Instruction Amado Chaves was familiar enough with the Indian school's de facto recruitment policy of financially incentivizing Pueblo parents to enroll their children in the Indian school (Gram 2015:30) that he vouches for its applicability to Epifanio Jaramillo. Additionally,

Abiquiú children did benefit from the hard-fought political leverage acquired by Pueblo Nations to receive guarantees from school superintendents that Pueblo children would return to their respective communities each summer (Ibid). Realizing the three prerequisites for accessing these "summer vacations" comprised of: a guaranteed return date; the federal government bearing none of the financial cost for travel; and "it appears that students had to be Pueblo" (Ibid), Abiquiú children apparently were "Pueblo enough" for this policy to be consistently applied to them during their first decade at the school. In fact, the consistent palatability of Abiquiú "Pueblo-ness" during this time is underscored by the fact that they were never used as leverage by Superintendent Crandall when shrewdly recommending and sending "coyotes" and "mixed bloods" from communities that were "formally an Indian pueblo" (Ibid 70) as a way to thwart recruiting efforts by competing boarding schools. Abiquiú was not only "Indian enough," it was "Pueblo enough" for New Mexico-based Indian school officials.

The peculiarity of Abiquiú-based Indigeneity however can still be seen manifesting in the archival memory of the school. For example, the first wave of Abiquiú children to arrive at the Indian school would have their tribal nation identified as simply "Pueblo," with all but two children, both vouched for by Amado Chaves, in fact, were identified with a blood quantum of "Half"—the other two listed with 1/8 and 1/4. Yet, the 35 children (with Chavez, Duran, Gallegos, Garcia, Jaramillo, Lopez, Manzanares, Martinez, Montoya, Moya, Trujillo, and Vigil surnames) identified from the Pueblo de Abiquiú in the school's 1904-1905 Enrollment of Pupils ledger lists their Tribal Nations as "Abi-Na," Abiq-Na," "Abi-Pu," "Abiq-Pu," and one child specifically as "Abiquiu-

Pu."[35] Alongside this community-specific Indigenous diversity of Diné (Navajo) and Pueblo tribal affiliation, the Pueblo de Abiquiú also garnered a notable reputation in the administrative record for its sanguine fluidity: three children with 5/8; six with 1/2; five with 7/16; three with 3/8; three with 5/16; and 15 with 1/4 blood quantum. Of those seven Abiquiú children still enrolled since 1900,[36] three actually gained "Indian blood" from "Half" to 5/8, while the remaining four receded to 7/16 (two) and 1/4 (two). In fact, starting in 1906, Indian school administrators would start whittling down Abiquiú enrollments as only ten children (with Abeita, Gallegos, Garcia, Jaramillo, and Moya surnames) from the Pueblo are listed as pupils at the boarding school by mid-September.[37] By the 1909 school year, four would start and two (with Gallegos and Trujillo surnames) would finish the school term—two Manzanares siblings were expelled from the Indian school in late-September 1908 after they reportedly "deserted to Abiquiu." Twice. Yet, the other two were sent alongside their Indian school peers to participate in the school's Outing programs as late as 1909.[38] Still, perhaps the most definitive expression of the Indian school's position toward Abiquiú-based Indigenous existences at this time comes from a November 1913 census report written by recently-arrived Superintendent H.F. Coggeshall, writing in the ledger margins:

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35 1904-1905 Enrollment of Pupils, Entry 45: Student Daily Attendance Book, Record Group 75, National Archives and Records Administration, Denver, CO.

36 1900 Federal Census at U.S. Industrial Indian School at Santa Fe, Year: 1900; Census Place: Santa Fe Ward 1 US Indian Industrial School, Santa Fe, New Mexico; Roll: 1002; Enumeration District: 0180; FHL microfilm: 1241002.

37 1906-1907 Enrollment of Pupils, Entry 45: Student Daily Attendance Book, Record Group 75, National Archives and Records Administration, Denver, CO.

38 1908-1909 Enrolment of Pupils, Entry 45: Student Daily Attendance Book, Record Group 75, National Archives and Records Administration, Denver, CO.

> "Poquaque [sic] &Abiquiu [sic] Pueblos are so far mixed with the surrounding Mexican population as to almost entirely lose their integrity as an Indian people. Local schools of the Mexican type are near. Ther [sic] are no Govt.day [sic] schools at hand."[39]

Abiquiú children had been walking the grounds of the Santa Fe Indian School as students for fifteen years by this time, yet this is the first documented instance of the Pueblo's "Mexican-ness" to be identified by Indian school administrators, alongside that of a federally-recognized Pueblo Nation. Like his predecessors, Coggeshall utilizes the "Mexican" figure as a racial device within the margins of the school census to downplay and marginalize Abiquiú-based Indigeneity as a marginal justification for the Pueblo's absence within any of the government-run educational institutions—particularly, reservation day schools and off-reservation boarding schools—created explicitly for Pueblo peoples in New Mexico.

Despite Superintendent Coggeshall's dismissal, Abiquiú families continued to interact with the Indian school in Santa Fe. Almost immediately after his departure from the school in 1915, two young women from the Pueblo de Abiquiú (both with Martinez surnames) enrolled as students in the school, and remained pupils under two subsequent Indian school superintendents (Frederick Snyder and John D. DeHuff) until 1919 and 1920, respectively. Indeed, both offer a unique opportunity to consider how Abiquiú children and families navigated these complex political, legal, and social environments within Native-specific—even, Pueblo-specific—institutional spaces in northern New

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[39] Pupils, Monthly and Quarterly Attendance Reports, Memos, 1908-13, FRC 163237-48, Record Group 75, National Archives and Records Administration, Denver, CO.

Mexico as de jure nonrecognized, de facto quasi-recognized Indigenous peoples. While written parental consent to enroll Native children in off-reservation boarding schools had been federal law since 1896, each child's unsigned yet dated September 1915 "Application for Enrollment in a Nonreservation School" comprises the earliest Abiquiú-specific application records to be generated for enrollment at the Santa Fe-based boarding school—or, at the very least, maintained within the school's archival memory. It remains unclear who completed the two application forms for these unrelated young women, however it is intriguing that both are: handwritten; identify tribal nation and band affiliations as "Pueblo" and "Abiquiu" respectively, and; list seemingly unquantifiable—"Part"—Degrees of Indian Blood for the fathers, as compared to the reportedly "Half" blood quantum of the mothers.[40] This perhaps unconscious inscriptive deviance from settler state-imposed measurements of American Indian sanguinity would be quickly rectified by school officials when finalizing the school's quarterly census reports to Washington starting in December 1915 until their expulsion in 1917: both assuming 1/4 blood quanta.[41]

Until the 1930s, the Santa Fe Indian School was arguably the only space where the Pueblo de Abiquiú could successfully articulate individual and collective Indigenous existences, explicitly linked to the Pueblo, in relation to U.S. settler state institutions. Perhaps one of the Pueblo's boldest assertions manifests in its second, and by far largest,

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40 Martinez Student Folders, Entry 47: Students' School Folders, 1910-34, Record Group 75, National Archives and Records Administration, Denver, CO.

41 Santa Fe Boarding School, Entry 745: Quarterly School Reports, 1910-39, Record Group 75, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC.

mass enrollment of Abiquiú children in the Indian school in the fall of 1918—in total, 28 girls and 21 boys from the Pueblo would enroll in two separate waves on the 10th and 23rd of September. Unfortunately, this statement would be enunciated as Santa Fe school officials began implementing a revamping of federal Indian policy spearheaded by Commissioner of Indian Affairs Cato Sells in 1917, quoted at length below:

> "A careful study of the practical effects of governmental policies for determining the wardship of the Indians of this country is convincing that the solution is individual and not collective. Each individual must be considered in the light of his own environment and capacity for larger responsibilities and privileges.
>
> While ethnologically a preponderance of white blood has not heretofore been a criterion of competency, nor even not is it always a safe standard, it is almost an axiom that an Indian who has a larger proportion of white blood than Indian partakes more of the characteristics of the former than of the latter. In thought and action, so far as the business world is concerned, he approximates more closely to the white blood ancestry…The time has come for discontinuing guardianship of all competent Indians and giving even closer attention to the incompetent that they may more speedily achieve competency. Broadly speaking, a policy of greater liberalism will henceforth prevail in Indian administration to the end that every Indian, as soon as he has been determined to be as competent to transact his own business as the average white man, shall be given full control of his property and have all his lands and moneys turned over to him, after which he will no longer be a ward of the Government.
>
> Pursuant to this policy, the following rules shall be observed…
>
> 6. *Elimination of ineligible pupils from the Government Indian schools*.—In many of our boarding schools Indian children are being educated at Government expense whose parents are amply able to pay for their education and have public education facilities at or near their homes. Such children shall not hereafter be enrolled in Government Indian schools supported by gratuity appropriations, except on payment of actual per capita cost and transportation.
>
> This is a new and far-reaching declaration of policy. It means the dawn of a new era in Indian administration. It means that the competent Indian will no longer be treated as half ward and half citizen. It means reduced appropriations by the Government and more self-respect and independence for the Indian. It means the ultimate absorption of the Indian

> race into the body politic of the Nation. It means, in short, the beginning of the end of the Indian problem."[42]

It is against this backdrop where school administrators, under the newly-appointed superintendency of John D. DeHuff, would establish a 1/4 blood quantum standard for every child enrolling from the Pueblo de Abiquiú. By December 1918, more than half of all the 1918 enrollees (15 females, 11 males) had been expelled. The remaining 23 children (13 females, 10 males) would remain enrolled in 1919, with the last of the 1918 enrollees being expelled in September of 1920. It is quite intriguing to consider that the Pueblo would maintain an active presence in the school's student body to this point despite Commissioner Sells developing and approving internal "School Rules" amendments in July 1919 banning the enrollment of "any Indian children who are not under Federal supervision;" a policy whose explicit purpose was to amplify his office's recent efforts "to eliminate from the Indian Schools pupils whose parents are citizens, particularly those possessing only a small degree of Indian blood."[43] Nevertheless, Superintendent DeHuff would ultimately expel every child from the Pueblo de Abiquiú, holding firm to his Abiquiú ban until the end of his tenure in 1926.

Yet, DeHuff's steadfast refusal to admit children, or even readmit former pupils, from the Pueblo de Abiquiú did not go unchallenged. Indeed, one young woman and

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[42] U.S. Department of the Interior. Office of Indian Affairs. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1917*, by Cato Sells. Washington, D.C., 1917. http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/History/History-idx?type=article&did=History.AnnRep1517.i0003&id=History.AnnRep1517&isize=M

[43] Rules and Regulations, Entry 29: Albuquerque Indian School, General Correspondence File, 1917-1936, Record Group 75, National Archives and Records Administration, Denver, CO.

former student (with the Martinez surname) from the Pueblo sent a letter to Superintendent DeHuff just 11 days after her expulsion in September of 1920, writing:

> "Dear Mr. DeHuff:--
> I'm writing this [sic] few lines just to tell you if theres [sic] a chance for me to go to school because I want to learn some more.
> But if you please tell me if I go or not.
> So please answer soon."[44]

Mr. DeHuff's responded to the initial letter three days later, stating:

> "My dear pupil:-
> I have your note…asking whether or not you will be permitted to return to this school. I regret very much to state that it will not be possible to accommodate you here any longer. *You are not an Indian in the sense in which a girl from San Juan or Santa Clara Pueblo is an Indian*; and consequently, under the rules promulgated by the Indian Office in July 1919 you are no longer eligible to attend an Indian School at Government expense, and I am compelled to ask you to get your school elsewhere."[45]

Another young woman (with the Martinez surname) from the Pueblo writes to DeHuff six months after she is also expelled in September 1920, a writing campaign that would last until March of 1922. In the first of four letters to the Superintendent, she begins her four-page correspondence by describing her experience as a student attending a denominational mission school located in the Española valley; with topics ranging from the weather, a school pageant, to young boys "dressed in Indians" and frightening their schoolmates. It is toward the end of the letter when she inquires:

> "I would like to know how many boys and girls there are over there[.] I think there are a lot of girls and boys I will be glad to hear from you and I will be glad to know that you are getting along fine[.] I hope you won't have to expell [sic] anybody from school this year like last year. I thought

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44 Martinez to DeHuff, September 17, 1920, Entry 47: Students' School Folders, 1910-34, Record Group 75, National Archives and Records Administration, Denver, CO.

45 DeHuff to Martinez, September 20, 1920, Ibid.

> I would go this year to Santa Fe. But I didn't get to go and I was very much grieved to hear that we couldn't go to school this year."[46]

Indeed, she ends the letter by asking DeHuff to "send my best regards" to four particular girls—none of whom coincide with the names of her contemporaries, enrolled or expelled, from the Pueblo de Abiquiú. The Superintendent writes back almost two weeks later, lamenting how "sorry" he was "to have to refuse the Abuquiu [sic] boys and girls permission to continue here last fall, but I could not do otherwise under the new rules and regulations which said that pupils not living on an Indian reservation are not to be continued in the Indian schools."[47] This seemingly definitive statement did not deter her from writing to DeHuff once again in September of 1921 regarding her possible return; only to be bluntly rebuffed by the Superintendent with, "you are not considered an Indian, and neither do you live on an Indian reservation, nor are you enrolled at any Indian agency as an Indian."[48] After 20 years of enrollments in the Santa Fe Indian School, Abiquiú-based Indigenous existences were apparently no longer "Indian enough" for the Indian schools.

Yet this young woman refused to be silenced. She responds once again. In the very next letter, she began with, "Today as I did not have nothing [sic] to do I thought I would write to you."[49] In fact, she refuses to engage DeHuff on whether she is "an Indian;" instead dedicating a five-page, handwritten response to everything except that

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46 Martinez to DeHuff, March 2, 1921, Ibid.
47 DeHuff to Martinez, March 14, 1921, Ibid.
48 Ibid.
49 Martinez to DeHuff, November 23, 1921, Ibid.

topic—talking about her day, her teachers, her friends, while also asking Mr. DeHuff to fill her in on the current events at the school. It is not until the very end of the letter—her closing statement, in fact—when she simply wrote: "From one of your pupils who used to be there."[50] In these ten words, this young woman brilliantly moves beyond defending the intelligibility of Abiquiú-based Indigenous existences by calling attention to the undeniable fact that, for half a decade, she was "Indian enough" to be treated like her Native peers as a pupil attending the Santa Fe Indian School. The irony of this young woman's statement is not lost when considering the superintendent's deployment of this very narrative when writing a letter in support of the enrollment of another young woman from the Pueblo de Abiquiú to continue her education at the Haskell Institute in Kansas. He writes:

> "under the letter of the regulations of July 29, she is clearly out of consideration. However, she is now eligible for the Third Year of the Vocational Course; and she is quite without school privileges for that grade of work anywhere near her home and she is too poor to go away to school. If she cannot be admitted to your school or some other school of similar grade, her school days are over. The Abiquiu Mexicans have a good deal of Indian blood in them and a number of them have been admitted to this school in years gone by, even with the full knowledge and consent of the Indian Office, I am told; although the parents of the children did not claim to be Indians in the same sense that a regular Pueblo Indian was so considered."[51]

This simultaneous recognition and refusal of Abiquiú Indigeneity could initially be chalked up to the localized manifestations of the racialist contradictions of federal Indian

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50 Ibid.

51 DeHuff to Peairs, September 15, 1919, Entry 47: Students' School Folders, 1910-34, Record Group 75, National Archives and Records Administration, Denver, CO.

policy. Perhaps so. Still, one cannot deny how Abiquiú's accessibility to federal Indian boarding schools appears to be dependent on how school administrators, like Superintendent DeHuff, conceptualize the politics and conditions of Indigeneity in northern New Mexico in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Indeed, what seems to course through the internal debates between Indian agency and school officials is not the sanguine character of the Pueblo de Abiquiú, but rather if that character is "Indian enough" to assume a distinctly Indigenous subject position in relation to the U.S. settler state. It seems that the debate centered on the following rhetorical question: was an "Abiquiú Indian" the same as a "Pueblo Indian" in New Mexico?

F. Concluding Thoughts

In his final annual report as the superintendent of the Santa Fe Indian school in 1912, H.F. Coggeshall lamented over the peculiar political statuses of the 19 Pueblo Nations in New Mexico. The political and legal rifts between federal and territorial policies concerning Pueblo peoples was clearly on his mind. Federal paternalism, or "trusteeship," over Pueblo peoples seemed to be the only way to counter the "race prejudice" stemming from "land-hungry Mexican and white settlers."[52] Coggeshall indeed argued that it was through federal Indian education institutions, both on-and off-reservation-based, that the Indian office enacted its plenary power over Pueblo peoples in New Mexico. One year later, the United States Supreme Court would determine in the

[52] Coggeshall, H.F., Annual Report, 1912, Superintendent's Annual Narrative and Statistical Reports From Field Jurisdictions of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1907-1938. Office of Indian Affairs, United States Department of the Interior, Reel 127: Frames 395-865. Microform. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

now-infamous *Sandoval*[53] decision that the federal government's establishment and maintenance of educational institutions for Pueblo peoples constituted the assumption of federal plenary power over Pueblo Nations as "Indians" under U.S. law. In fact, the Court argues that it is not the judiciary's prerogative to determine the intelligibility of Pueblo peoples as "Indians" under US legal doctrine; they must instead defer to the executive and legislative branches. Thus, the logic manifests: if the Indian office has treated them like Indians, then they are Indians—regardless of political and/or legal statuses under previous sovereigns.

Abiquiú children would continue to enroll in the Indian school in Santa Fe as late is 1934, incidentally coinciding with Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier's own revamping of federal Indian policy through the Indian Reorganization Act, or the "Indian New Deal." This pivoting of federal policy toward a new era of self-determination for federally-recognized tribal nations in the United States would seal the fates of children and families from the Pueblo de Abiquiú by foreclosing their individual and collective capacities to articulate, engage, and navigate U.S. settler state institutions as Indigenous peoples. Of course, the Pueblo's public school remained open throughout this period—its budget apparently unaffected by the physical absences of Indian school pupils since public school financing formulas were predicated on census data of the number of eligible students residing within the district, and not those attending the school, in actuality (Wiley 1967). Yet, this did not necessarily translate to a resounding silence by

53 United States v. Sandoval, 231 U.S. 28 (1913).

County public school officials as County Superintendent J.G. Valdez sought guidance from the state's Attorney General office in May of 1920 regarding the legality of enrolled Abiquiú children in the Santa Fe Indian School.[54]

Abiquiú-based Indigeneity—specifically Genízaro Indigeneity—would indeed continue to litigated in state district court land partition case as late as 1919 as scrupulous land speculators sought to dismantle the Pueblo's collective efforts to organize and self-identify themselves as a collective body known as "The Abiquiu Grant," specifically through the land grant's explicit connection to Genízaro Indigeneity.[55] The attorney for the plaintiffs in this case, A.B. Renehan, would later utilize the Pueblo de Abiquiú in congressional testimony in 1923 as the primary example for defining the racialist incompatibilities between "Mexican-ness" and intelligible Indigenous existence in New Mexico.[56] Nevertheless, the Pueblo persisted.

Individually and collectively, the Pueblo strategically accessed, negotiated, and challenged U.S. settler state constructs of Indigeneity to enact forms of self-determination which tap into the systemic inadequacies of the public education system in Rio Arriba County as the impetus for accessing federal Indian education institutions as Indigenous peoples from the Pueblo de Abiquiú. Indeed, Abiquiú children and families strategically accessed distinct educational institutions specific to and for Native and non-Native

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54 Bowman to Valdez, May 21, 1920, Loose Document, Basement Records, Rio Arriba County Clerk, Tierra Amarilla, NM.

55 Reyes Gonzales et al. v. The Unknown Claimants in the Abiquiu Grant, et al., NM. 1d 1834 (1919).

56 U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Public Lands and Surveys, *Pueblo Indian Lands: Subcommittee of the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys*, 67th Cong., 4th sess., 1923, 235.

peoples alike. Pueblo families exercised considerable agency even as they continued to be told by Indian school administrators they were and were not "Indian enough;" they would simply reapply to attend the Indian school once the prosecuting superintendent's tenure had ended.

> The crackling firewood rages inside the ancient 'stufa (woodfire stove) as Aurelio sighs, "¡pobrejito, mi granpa! (my poor grandpa!) I can't even imagine what it would be have been like to go to Indian school that young!" "Me neither!" I exclaim, my eyes fixated on the young boy's stoic expression. Only seven years old when he first entered the Santa Fe Indian School with the first wave of Abiquiú children in 1898. "But, he went," Aurelio nods, "he went."

CHAPTER TWO

Genízaro Indigeneity and the Columbus Quincentennary on the National Mall, 1992

> Today the Indian community ignores the existence of the Genízaro. To the BIA Indian, the Genízaro is a Hispano. To the Hispano community, the Genízaro is perceived as some sort of mongrel Indian. To the United States at large, if the Genízaro is recognized at all, he is lumped with all its Mexican (American) population. And to Mexico, the Genízaro visitor is contemptuously labeled a 'pocho.'
>
> — Benito Córdova, January 10, 1991 memorandum

A. A *Mal-Criado* Ethnography of Smithsonian institutional archives

a. Smithsonian Institution Archive

I've been trying to figure out a way to express what I've been experiencing during this research fellowship at the National Museum of the American Indian. I've really been struggling. So rather than invoking someone else's authority to legitimize my thoughts, I'll instead focus on my thoughts and experiences as the ethnographic data. This archive was quite an experience. This was my first escapade into the realm of bureaucratic archival research, where my work would be examining relatively contemporaneous internal documents relating to the National Museum of American History's Columbus Quincentennary programming. This archive held many fascinating finds, but it caused some immense pain. As I stood there trying to photograph the perhaps thousands of documents being culled over, there developed a sharp, stinging pain in my left shoulder blade. Ironically, this wasn't the arm I was using to actually photograph. But standing in that position for 8 hours a day—since I never took a lunch break—I continue to be

reminded of the physical, as well as mental, toll that this work has taken on me. Mentally, I would say that I would more often than not leave that space angry, confused, and/or depressed—sometimes all at once. I think it is because I simply cannot approach these documents through the fallacy of objectivity—this work is intimately connected to the communities I work in; to my community; to me. So when archival materials show a rather concerted effort to subsume Genízaro subject-positions in New Mexico to the state's broader tri-cultural myth, I *feel* that violence. The fact that Genízaro presences are quite literally buried in these archival spaces, but never constitute an even marginal space within internal curatorial design discussions, reveals the intellectual, and perhaps even political, agendas being pursued, negotiated, and solidified among program stakeholders.

Perhaps what has been most revealing in this experience has been the "coming to Jesus" moment in terms of realizing the demands and opportunities for research. Particularly, I came into this space with a specific research agenda in mind—strategically approaching archival collections like a surgeon in the operating room, except my surgical scalpels are a pen and laptop. Yet as I delved further and further into these collections at the Smithsonian Institutional Archives, the less and less resonant other aspects of my idealized research agenda have become to me. Almost like Dorothy, I need to follow this intellectual "Yellow Brick Road" to the Emerald City of the Smithsonian, the National Mall, and visit its cultural wizards residing in the palatial edifices and artifices of archival repositories. I am particularly intrigued by the conceptual resonance of its emerald overtones when viewed through the intellectual prism of Spanish colonial power and imperial ambition in the Americas—a mineral Muse kith and kin, though distantly-related

geologically and geospatially, to her gold-tinged PriMa-Donna enchanting Spanish *conquistadores* to present-day New Mexico.[57]

b. Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage

I can't believe it's been over a year since I was back in this space doing my preliminary survey of their archival materials on the Folklife Festival. It makes me feel kind of old to think that a year and a half could have gone by so quick. At any rate, I think it's because of this previous exposure that I knew what to look for. Still, this time around I had specific boxes in mind. And yet, I was informed that several of these boxes were inaccessible since they were quite literally holed up in an offsite archival storage facility. Even the finding aid for this collection isn't publicly available—I only got a copy with the stipulation that I realize it's incomplete and not necessarily reflective of what may or may not be there. While at first I thought it was a bit odd, it wasn't until I remembered my time in the stacks and seeing how little storage space that archive contains in reality. And many of the boxes that they do have are not "officially" processed, so archivists only have a rough idea of the available materials for one of the key components of my dissertation.

Despite this setback, the content itself was pretty fascinating in terms of what it did and did not reveal. With the knowledge I gained from my archival work at the Smithsonian Institutional Archive (ironically, only one floor above Folklife's collection)

[57] While my utilization of the 'Emerald City' is purely rhetorical in nature, there seems to be an interesting opportunity to interrogate the consonance of mineral wealth, political economy, and proto-ethnological knowledge production in Spanish America. Yet I think the broader draw in this comparison is the resonance between the structures and structuration of knowledge and its interconnections with local, communal, tribal, regional, national, and global power relations.

it felt almost like a game of cat and mouse in terms of chasing down documents that could provide Folklife's perspective in considering New Mexico as the focus on their 1992 Folklife Festival. Because New Mexico was also the focus of the National Museum of American History's pinnacle exhibit for 1992 titled "American Encounters," it became clear that the intellectual underpinnings of both units became the guiding principles through which curatorial staff and administrators conceptualized their respective exhibit programs. With American History's emphasis on material culture and Folklife's mission as a "living museum" for cultural traditions and knowledge, I am particularly interested to see if/when and how curatorial and administrative staffs in both units interacted with one another regarding a Genízaro presence in the other's exhibit programming. Equally, I'm very interested to compare how both staffs navigated the charged political and cultural environments of New Mexico identity politics, as well as how both negotiated these spaces when seeking support from local, state, national, and international stakeholders.

B. Introduction

The politics of cultural representation of Indigenous communities remains a vibrant topic of academic research across disciplinary spaces (Deloria 2004; Foley 1995; Hendry 2005; Garroutte 2003; King 2013; Lawrence 2004; Lyons 2010; Samuels 2004; Strong 1999, 2004, 2012; Strong and Van Winkle 1996). There has been a notable focus on performative spaces in New Mexico as well. Particularly, this body of work has been dedicated to examining the intersections of ritual performance and embodied knowledge manifesting within the region (Champe 1983; Sweet 1985; Sklar 1991, 1999, 2001;

Lamadrid 2003), where history, memory, and expression are considered integral components to the maintenance of cultural knowledge. Additionally, other scholars have contextualized the study of cultural performance through the representational politics of cultural policy within the contexts of the Smithsonian Institution (Belanus and Fernandez 2014; Cantwell 1991; Diamond and Trimillos 2008; Kurin 1997; Lamadrid 2003; Mato 2004; Walker 2007). While signaling a sustained interest in the interpretation of culture within performative, museological, and policy-oriented spaces, there is also significant room for developing these analyses to account for the discursive tensions arising from the contextualization of U.S.-based Indigenous cultural expression among bureaucratic, curatorial, and community stakeholders. To this end, my study will build and depart from this literature base as to examine the contentious politics of cultural representation manifesting during the Smithsonian's 1992 Columbus Quincentennary programming in Washington, D.C. Particularly, it explores the role Genízaro identity discourse plays in shaping the National Museum of American History's "American Encounters" exhibit on New Mexico.

To begin, I approach this discussion through the analytical lenses of cultural intelligibility and Indigenous transnationalism. Cultural intelligibility can be understood or a "normative framework that conditions who can be recognized as a legitimate subject," that is, "a livable life" conditioned on its capacity "to first be recognized as a viable subject" (Lloyd 2007:33). Yet, I reorient this line of inquiry away from the sole individuation of the human subject, a crucial goal of both colonial (Williams 2012) and settler colonial projects (Wolfe 2006), to instead reconsider this space through the lens of

Indigenous "livable life" in relation to their community as a collective "viable subject." In effect, this reformulation explores the ontological underpinnings of "what can be thought" (Certeau 1988:42) as intelligible, distinctly Indigenous existence by interrogating the politics and conditions that condition the interdependent singularities of individual and collective Indigenous subjectivities. By shifting our analytical focal point to the very conceptual pillars of intelligible Indigenous existence, what comes into focus is the scholarly structuration of recognizable politics as the conceptual litmus test for developing and deploying the analytic of Indigeneity as a unitarian political ontology devoid of minoritarian existences and discourses—including racial, ethnic, sexual, and gender formations. When brought into dialogue with the centrality of Native cultural (mis)representations to the national imaginary of the U.S. settler state (Berma 2004; Deloria 2004; Strong 1999, 2004, 2012), this framework opens the analytical aperture for considering the livability of Genízaro Indigenous lives within shifting fields of power transiting Native, non-Native, and nonrecognized Indigenous spaces alike.

This critique however does not work to dismantle or undermine the political integrities of federally-recognized tribal nations and their citizenry. In fact, it is through the lens of Indigenous transnationalism (Bauerkemper and Stark 2012; Byrd 2011; Huang et. al 2012; Warrior 2009) that their distinct political and legal subject-positions are acknowledged and respected. As Reyna Ramirez (2007) argues, we must not only acknowledge the multiple forms of citizenship being embodied by tribal citizens (i.e. citizenship within their respective tribal nations, and imposed citizenship by the United States), but also realize that they continue to move beyond the territorial borders of their

tribal homelands and reservations. More importantly, Indigenous transnationalism disrupts the policing of Indigenous spatiality to reservation boundaries by considering how Native peoples develop and maintain space with other Native peoples while living outside of their tribal homelands or borders. In effect, this project transforms the National Mall in 1992 from the symbolic territoriality of the U.S. settler state to a transnational Indigenous space being embodied by tribal citizens from various federally-recognized tribal nations whose sovereign borders undermine the political integrities of New Mexico and the United States.

This approach must equally account for the fact that Genízaro communities remain beyond the gaze of U.S. federal Indian policy and tribal nationhood as nonrecognized Indigenous peoples. As such, Genízaro communities continue to fail the discursive litmus test of embodying recognizable political forms vis-à-vis federally-recognized tribal nations and the settler state. As scholars in Native American and Indigenous Studies (Bauerkemper and Stark 2012; Ramirez 2007; Simpson 2014) continue to explore innovative ways for decentering the preeminence of the settler state as the unilateral arbiter of Indigenous existence, the political and legal integrities of Indigenous tribal nations remain firmly intact—as they should. Yet, can Indigenous existence manifest beyond the ontological borders of tribal nationhood? Can nonrecognized Indigenous "non-nations" access this "theory of indigenous transnationalism" (Bauerkemper and Stark 2012:5) which navigates

> "the sophisticated boundaries that differentiate indigenous nations as discrete polities while also emphasizing the transnational flows of

> intellectual, cultural, economic, social, and political traditions between and across these boundaries?"

Notable tensions arise from this critical effort, including running the risk of inadvertently "joining a totalizing effort to decenter any and every form of nationhood" (Ibid). That is, of course, not the goal of this project.

As Indigenous peoples continuing to navigate the complex racial and ethnic landscapes of latinidad and Indigeneity in the northern New Mexico and the U.S. Southwest Borderlands (Gandert and Lamadrid 2000; Herrera, Romero, and Kaiser 2013; Lamadrid 2003; Trujillo 2009), Genízaro subjectivities can more adequately engage with the legal and extra-legal rhetorics of Indigenous transnationalism by building and departing from a "critical Latinx indigenous perspective" (Blackwell, Boj Lopez, and Urrieta forthcoming:6). This viewpoint facilitates a robust reconsideration of Indigenous transnationalism by "forg[ing] a hemispheric analysis capable of examining more than one racial structure and the multiple colonial forces (re)shaping indigeneity" (Ibid 4). Additionally, it enables individual and collective Genízaro subject-positions to pursue analytical movements located at "a crossroads that further exposes complex intersectional nuances, inter-group oppression, and enduring multiple colonialities of power…further exposing the possibility and emergences of multiple indigeneities" (Ibid 6). This unabashed (re)integration of the analytics of race and ethnicity into the political ontology of Indigeneity may be considered by some Native Studies scholars as willfully challenging "indigenous studies' commitments to nationhood" (Bauerkemper and Stark 2012:5) as a race-neutral Indigenous utopia. Rather, Genízaro interrogations of this space

behoove academic and non-academic stakeholders to reconsider how racialized, nonrecognized Indigenous existences continue to move across the politico-juridical integrities of Indigenous nations and settler states alike.

What manifests is a critical theory of Indigenous transnationalism which neither presumes the recognizability of Indigenous political existence as constitutive of or constituted by tribal nationhood, nor subsumes the distinct political and legal subject-positions of tribal nations and citizens as wholly complicit in a "willful acquiescence to the legitimacy of the colonizing states" (Ibid 6). The analytical focal point is instead shifted toward transborder Indigenous existences which "negotiate the ongoing movement and flow of people, ideas[,] and strategies in order to maintain identities that center their indigenous ways of knowing and being in the world" (Blackwell, Boj Lopez, and Urrieta forthcoming:6; Stephen 2007). Indeed, articulating transborder Indigenous perspectives through Genízaro and critical Latinx Indigenous prisms opens the analytical aperture for a

> "critical engage[ment] and critique [of] enduring colonial logics and practices that operate from different localities of power and the physical, social, cultural, economic, and psychological violence than often targets indigenous Latinx peoples, including forms of state and police violence, cultural appropriation, economic exploitation, gender violence, social exclusion, and psychological abuse" (Ibid 9-10).

In fact, the particularities of Genízaro social histories and lived experiences, in relation to northern New Mexico's historical presence within Indigenous, Spanish colonial, Mexican nationalist, and U.S. imperial imaginaries, encourage greater scholarly attention to the nuances of Latinx Indigeneities which do not necessarily originate in Latin America.

Genízaro positionalities, in turn, add important voices to expressing and embodying transborder Indigenous existences which manifest in tension with the U.S.-based political ontology of Indigeneity, while contributing to a substantive analysis of "enduring colonialist power dynamics within Whiteness, Blackness, latinidad, and also within American Indian politics of identity" (Ibid 10). This reformulated critical theory of Indigenous transnationalism ultimately supports and encourages a robust, comparative engagement with the complex social fabrics of Indigenous relationalities which transit and transgress shifting fields of power comprising the historical, political, social, and cultural landscapes of both tribal nations and nation-states.

C. Christopher Columbus and New Mexico at the Smithsonian

The origins of the Smithsonian's institution-wide program commemorating the 500-year anniversary of Christopher Columbus' landing in the Western Hemisphere do not stem from an Indigenous-centric space. The intellectual origin story of this Smithsonian-wide project rather begins "quietly, almost turgidly," in the summer of 1982 between Smithsonian administrators and diplomatic officials from Spain, the Dominican Republic, and Mexico. According to one report,

> "[t]he discussion centered on discovering an approach that would better educate this nation [the United States] to the regions opened to Europe by Columbus, and subsequent inter-American history and attitudes."[58]

Smithsonian-based participants also noted the importance of garnering the perspectives of their Latin American neighbors, particularly recognizing "the long-festering slash across

[58] Memorandum, "Columbus' Half-Century (1492-1992) Project," June 15, 1982, Accession 00-002, Smithsonian Institutional Archives, Washington, DC.

North America dividing Ibero- from Anglo-American culture."[59] There was no further elaboration on what, or perhaps who, comprised this "long-festering slash." Yet it is noted that Smithsonian officials suggested that the project also assume a contemporary context "in order to deal with contemporary awareness problems," as well as "consider the theme '16th-century America' to explore the early native [sic] and European contacts in North America."[60] While extending the narrative to encompass "inter-American history and attitudes" appears to encourage a multitude of perspectives, it also reveals the presumption and assumption of history's singularity across the Americas while characterizing its analyses as attitudinal. This, of course, may be a reflection of the project's organizing paradigm: Christopher Columbus. Still, juxtaposing an "inter-American history" with its "attitudes" runs the risk of devaluing the empirical strength of its analysis to the realm of affect, conveying a hierarchical structuring of knowledge which presupposes the objectivity of history itself in opposition to its interpretation by local, regional, and national stakeholders.

In the winter of 1983, the conversation progresses as NMAH-based officials consider ways to expand its conceptual reach, soliciting "any possible interest" among other Smithsonian unit administrators "for a Columbian anniversary project." Already the conceptual scaffolding for NMAH appears as "an exhibit contrasting Anglo- and Hispanic-American achievements in the Americas prior to 1600," particularly interested in examining "the lighter/darker, Protestant/Catholic, Anglo/Hispano perceived barrier in

59 Ibid.
60 Ibid.

North America." This conceptual expansion project appears to gain significant traction in January of 1984 as Spanish diplomatic officials approach Smithsonian staff and "take quite a realistic view of the ways in which we [NMAH] might actually press forward toward a show about America's beginnings, taking into cognizance the Spanish contribution to those beginnings." An overtly Eurocentric curatorial narrative saturates this initial exploration, with its residues soaked into the intellectual fabric of the project as museum staff already began eyeing "the South and Southwest" as productive representational spaces by early-December of the same year.

Only weeks after NMAH curators make explicit the project's effort to represent "an American culture formed through reciprocal and dialectical interactions" through the shifting of the analytical focal point to a south-to-north trajectory, another memo circulates suggesting "a general framework within which to consider the question of exhibit and programs relating to the Columbian Quincentennial."[61] In fact, its makes explicit the necessity for "[r]ecognizing, in exhibits and public programs, that the interaction of ethnic groups, especially Anglo-Americans, Hispanic-Americans, Native Americans and blacks" as a "prime determinant of American history."[62] Attached to this "general framework" are two separate conceptual flow charts detailing proposed approaches for representing the deep historical roots of Indigenous peoples and "Hispanic People in North America" within a "North American viewpoint" of "American colonial

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61 Memorandum, "General Rationale for 1992 Exhibits and Programs," December 26, 1984, Accession 00-002, Smithsonian Institutional Archives, Washington, D.C.
62 Ibid.

history," particularly connecting New Mexico as potentially productive representational space.[63] This summoning of the New Mexico's racial landscape represents one of the first curatorial invocations of its "ethnic territoriality" (Rodriguez 1990:551), within which the state is marked as the regional expression of Indigenous and Hispanic spatialities,[64] adding the key cultural ingredients for constituting the region's

> "public ideology of triculturalism hold[ing] that the state consists of three separate ethnic groups living together in harmony, be they Pueblo Indians, Mexicans, and Americans—the terms first used—or Native Americas, Hispanics, and Anglos—the terms often employed today" (Wilson 2003:13).

New Mexico's presence in the exhibit's conceptual development continued to gain prominence throughout 1985, becoming one of three "cultural settings" to be potentially featured in the exhibit's explorations of "Pre-Columbian America,"[65] "Spain in America" between the 16th and 18th centuries. In fact, in early-February 1986 museum curators make the first conceptual proposal connecting New Mexico's "Late 17th C. [century] historical presence to the exhibit's "3rd Segment, 1992." While U.S.-based representational locations spanned across the nation, from the "Hudson River or Long

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63 Ibid.

64 At least initially, the residues of this racialist ideology were not totalizing as NMAH exhibit development plans and proposals throughout 1985 and 1986 show a rather concerted effort by museum staff to address the historical connections between European colonial political economies and transatlantic African enslavement throughout the Americans—a glaring absence within the tricultural paradigm of New Mexico's social history. This would ultimately become a significant point of contention by 1988 as Smithsonian Black Caucus members and Black academic community stakeholders criticize the exhibit's ultimate failure to even acknowledge the relationships between transatlantic African enslavement and European colonialism (Memorandum, "Comments on the October 12, 1988 Quincentennary Meeting at NMAH," October 19, 1988, Accession 00-002, Smithsonian Institutional Archives, Washington, D.C.).

65 Memorandum, "Notes on meeting of Columbus Exhibit ad-hoc committee," January 4, 1985, Accession 00-002, Smithsonian Institutional Archives, Washington, D.C.

Island" to "Washington" state, two of the three "Southwest" regional locations were New Mexico-based communities or the state itself.[66] Even as late as the spring of 1988 when the exhibit's conceptual mold hadn't quite hardened, two of the possible seven "case studies of cultural interactions" were based in New Mexico, with one being explicitly bracketed as "Anglos, ~~Indians~~ [sic], Mexicans, [and] goods – Santa Cruz, NM 1848."[67] In tandem with this pervasive summoning of the Tricultural Myth, curators in the spring of 1989 justified the ultimate New Mexico-based consolidation of the exhibit through the Smithsonian's already substantial collection of "Indian" and "Hispanic" material culture and oral histories.

D. "Do you know what kind of an Indian I am?": Genízaro Indigeneity and transnational Indigenous spaces on the National Mall, 1992

> "I'm an Indian, too," confessed Israel. "But I don't even know what kind. Many years ago my grandfather was brought here to La Puebla. He was but a little boy at the time; he had been captured." Almost in tears, he pleaded to me, of the world he asked: "Do you know what kind of an Indian I am?"
>
> Yes, of course, I know the answer. I have now known it for many years!
>
> Even before Israel spoke, I could sense the pain of his loneliness. It is brought on by the cultural isolation that his heart is subjected to daily. For many years I too had endured the same psychological pain, or should I say, felt the sting of this unnamed cultural stigma.
>
> Israel, along with thousands of other New Mexicans, and, I are Genízaro.[68]
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> — Benito Córdova, January 10, 1991 memorandum

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66 Memorandum, "Columbian Quincentennial Exhibit at NMAH: A Structural Proposal," February 11, 1986, Accession 00-002, Smithsonian Institutional Archives.

67 "Notes on American Encounters," March 2, 1988, Accession 00-002, Smithsonian Institutional Archives, Washington, D.C.

68 Memorandum, January 10, 1991, Accession 00-002, Smithsonian Institutional Archives, Washington, D.C.

Attached to a 1991 administrative report to Washington-based administrators at the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History (NMAH), *el difunto* Dr. Benito Córdova's words knocked the wind out of me. He's describing my world, I thought to myself. Sheets of rain draped over the glass walls encasing the archives center in Washington, D.C. as I pondered on the significance of his writings within *this institutional space*—particularly how these materials, generated by a Genízaro scholar and anthropologist from the Pueblo de Abiquiú, stuck out in relation to the archival materials I had collected concerning Smithsonian-funded interpretations and representations of New Mexico history and cultural diversity. Comprising one of many reports within his notable archival footprint, Dr. Córdova's writings would become a source of inspiration, liberation, confusion, and frustration as I examined how Smithsonian curators, administrators, program participants, and community stakeholders approached the topic of Genízaro identity and cultural expression within New Mexico's cultural landscape and historical consciousness. Still, one thing was clear: deep inside the archival catacombs of the Smithsonian Institution, Genízaro intellectual lifeblood flows.

To begin, this section deploys a recalibrated conceptualization of Judith Butler's (1999) analytic of cultural intelligibility, enabling my analysis to pursue the ontological underpinnings of "what can be thought" (Certeau 1988:42) as intelligible, distinctly Indigenous existence by interrogating the politics and conditions that condition the interdependent singularities of individual and collective Indigenous subjectivities. Equally, this paper echoes Winnebago scholar Reyna K. Ramirez's (2007) timely call for recognizing contemporary Native presences beyond the geopolitical borders of tribal

homelands, resituating the National Mall and National Museum of American History in Washington as transnational Native spaces. Indeed, this intellectual investment disrupts the "policeability" of distinctly Native spaces to reservation boundaries by considering how Indigenous peoples develop and maintain space with one another while being outside of tribal reservations.

Exhibit cases and open spaces on the National Mall transformed from representational territorialities of the U.S. settler state into transnational Indigenous spaces being embodied by the cultural histories and legacies of tribal citizen Smithsonian participants, presenters, and performers. The continued presence and resilience of Native peoples brilliantly disrupted the Eurocentric narration of "our American national experience."[69] Yet, when it came to the historical examination and cultural expression of Genízaro identity in northern New Mexico, these "patently nationalist transnational" (Bauerkemper and Stark 2012:6) Indigenous spaces would have no room. Instead, they became highly-contested spaces within which Genízaro intelligibility would be ultimately relegated to the historical peripheries of peripheral histories. Indeed, whether serving as the corporeal buffer zones between Native and colonial nodes of power as Indigenous slaves, settlers, or military scouts, Genízaros continue to be recognized for our historical presences and absences today; a reflection of the scholarly insistence that Genízaros were simply detribalized, Hispanicized Indians (Chávez 1979) ceasing to exist as Indigenous peoples in New Mexico after Mexican independence in 1821. The "American

69 *Budget Request: Hearings Before the Appropriations Subcommittee on Interior and Related Agencies*, 102d Cong., 1st Sess. 749-816 (1991) (statement of Robert C. McC. Adams).

Encounters" exhibit at NMAH would certainly perpetuate this vanishing Genízaro narrative, while at the same time employing one of the most prominent Genízaro intellectuals of the 20th century as a cultural fieldworker in 1990.

Genízaro existences were in fact acknowledged by NMAH curators as early as 1984, albeit made intelligible as the narrative completion of the Spanish colonial project in the region.[70] It would not be until two years after that diplomatic luncheon, in fact, that museum officials breathed intellectual life into Genízaro-specific Indigenous existences. Buried in a dense memorandum written to members of the museum's ad-hoc committee tasked with designing the museum's particular contribution to the Smithsonian-wide program, Genízaros were inextricably linked to the history of Spanish colonialism in the U.S. Southwest Borderlands. Yet handwritten underneath the word "Genízaros," one staffer scratched in red ink "mestizacion [sic]?" while drawing a line connecting the two terms.[71] Already its first utterance is made intelligible through the analytical lens of racial "mixedness."[72] Additionally, by locating Genízaro peoples as the narrative completion of Spanish colonialism, museum officials also successfully relegated Genízaro bodies outside of the historical corpus (Trouillot 1995) of U.S. settler state-centric relationships with Native peoples. While comprising the only organic manifestation of Genízaro identity discourse within the exhibit's internally-generated developmental stage, Genízaro identity would become a source of contention with scholar-consultants several

70 Memorandum, "General Rationale for 1992 Exhibits and Programs."
71 Ibid.
72 Ibid.

years later as museum staff continued to dismiss their calls for integrating it into the American Encounters exhibit.

While this was the only organic manifestation of Genízaro identity among NMAH administrators and curators within the project's internal development process, it certainly would not be the last instance they responded to its articulation by a variety of academic and community stakeholders. In fact, one consulting scholar in the fall of 1989 integrated Genízaro identity discourse as a potential subtheme of representational discussion on colonial New Mexico demography, particularly couching "the generation of genizaro [sic] ethnic identity" alongside "the rise of the mestizo."[73] The reply they received from Smithsonian curatorial staff fails to even acknowledge the scholar's citation of Genízaro identity, instead tangentially addressing its articulation by conveying their desire to "look carefully at demography and kinship" as a potential approach for addressing the exhibit's "gender imbalance."[74] Another consulting scholar in the fall of 1990 recommended that the exhibit incorporate additional focal points, including "the question of interethnic interfaces."[75] The scholar continued that "[t]he quintessential colonial phenomenon in this regard is of course the genizaro," while also recognizing the difficulty in its representation "visually or artifactually [sic]."[76] While relegated to colonial historical

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73 Memorandum, August 9, 1989, Accession 00-002, Smithsonian Institutional Archives, Washington, D.C.
74 Memorandum, August 19, 1989, Accession 00-002, Smithsonian Institutional Archives, Washington, D.C.
75 Memorandum, September 30, 1989, Accession 00-002, Smithsonian Institutional Archives, Washington, D.C.
76 Ibid.

lenses, these invocations of Genízaro identity discourse illustrate a concerted effort by academics to challenge the museum's simplification of New Mexico historical processes by making explicit the existences of Genízaro peoples and communities in the region.

Yet consulting scholars were not the only dissenting voices. In fact, only two months into his employment, Dr. Córdova wrote a field report noting that one of his field sites, Tortugas Pueblo, "is a Genízaro pueblo in the fashion of Abiquiú in northern New Mexico," yet whose community members were "unfamiliar with the word Genízaro or its concept."[77] Situating his fieldwork within "this little unofficial Indian reservation to shelter the unwanted people,"[78] Córdova's exploration of the community's historicity and continuity as an Indigenous space would be at odds with the curatorial insistence on classifying the community under the ethnic signpost of "Hispanic religion" rather than "Indian religion."[79] Comprised of "culturally isolated people who are struggling to BECOME,"[80] his observation can be understood as an acknowledgement of a mutually intelligible Indigenous history and experience which reflects and inflects that of his own Genízaro Pueblo in northern New Mexico, the Pueblo de Abiquiú. Equally, Córdova's statement signals his own subjectivity as a Genízaro scholar working in a community space whose cultural history and legacy manifests as similar to his own, bearing witness to how cultural memory and ritual performativity manifest as key markers for preserving

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77 Memorandum, "Weekly Report," March 27, 1990, Accession 00-002, Smithsonian Institutional Archives, Washington, D.C.

78 Ibid.

79 "American Encounters: Script Outline and Preliminary Object List 5/3/90," May 5, 1990, Accession 00-002, Smithsonian Institutional Archives, Washington, D.C.

80 Memorandum, "Weekly Report," March 27, 1990.

and perpetuating each community's distinct, marginal history and lived experience as a nonrecognized Indigenous community.

Yet he did not stop at merely problematizing the curatorial parameters which establish the singularities of Hispanic and Indigenous spatiality. Dr. Córdova operationalized his critique by openly proposing in his report the utilizing of Smithsonian resources to connect this southern New Mexico-based, nonrecognized Pueblo community "with other Pueblos and living Indian tradition, not just memories of the past."[81] In fact, he equated this idea with contemporary efforts by northern Pueblo elders to assist other federally-recognized Pueblo elders and cultural knowledge bearers in "relearning their Indian heritage, chants and lost traditions."[82] In his view, what was needed was "not more anthropologists to study these people, but sympathy from other intelligent Native Americans who can help with the development of a tribe, an isolated people."[83] What manifests within Córdova's ethnographically-rich field report is a disruptive and reformulative approach to the politics and conditions of Indigeneity in New Mexico. While not dismissive of the histories and realities of the 19 federally-recognized Pueblo Nations located in the northern half of the state, Córdova's fieldwork appears to sidestep the preeminence of state-centric politics of federal recognition by shifting his analytical focal point toward those spaces where he is witnessing Indigenous cultural knowledge flow and thrive within the community itself. Moreover, Córdova applies this

81 Ibid.
82 Ibid.
83 Ibid.

reformulation methodologically by holding himself accountable to Tortugas Pueblo governance structures and their capacity to dictate the parameters of his work within the community, while offering to both Pueblo leaders and Smithsonian administrators his personal assistance and participation in facilitating this proposed cultural exchange. In effect, there emerges an unsettling and transformative approach to this community as a nonrecognized Pueblo space which obscures, at the very least, the unilaterality of the museum's Hispano-centric characterization of the community's cultural history and contemporary identity.

Additionally, Córdova sent unpublished manuscripts to Washington, as well as provided critical feedback to internal exhibit design scripts. In the case of the former, he faxed drafts of both condensed[84] and expanded[85] treatises examining the intellectual history and legacy of Genízaro identity from the Ottoman Empire to northern New Mexico. The response he received noted how "we must recognize the genizaro [sic] as a very significant culturally- and, by now, genetically-mixed New Mexican,"[86] yet did not elaborate on what or who constituted this "we." Additionally, his critique of the stark contrasts being made by curatorial staff's September 1990 "Outline for Internal Review" to distinguish "Native" from "Hispanic" cultural preservation practices centers.[87]

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84 "Moorish, Arabic and African Influence in Hispanic Culture," April 1, 1991, Accession 00-002, Smithsonian Institutional Archives, Washington, D.C.

85 "Islamic Influence on the Hispano and Genízaro," undated, Accession 00-002, Smithsonian Institutional Archives, Washington, D.C.

86 Memorandum, March 12, 1991, Accession 00-002, Smithsonian Institutional Archives, Accession 00-002, Smithsonian Institutional Archives, Washington, D.C.

87 "AMERICAN ENCOUNTERS: Exhibit Outline for Internal Review with Benito Cordova comments," September 27, 1990, Accession 00-002, Smithsonian Institutional Archives, Washington, D.C.

Particularly, Córdova criticized the museum's desire to bring visitors into a "convergence network" couched in policing a Hispano/Pueblo relational binary, focusing his attention on the curatorial team's approach to the system of labor exchange, arguing that this structure occurred "both ways," a reference to mutual dependence and perhaps even captive trade within the Pueblos and Hispano communities alike.[88] In fact, with his red pen Córdova added another category to the outline's 12-point listing of materials relating to trade networks between Hispano and Pueblo communities, problematizing its undergirding Pueblo/Hispano dualism by inserting his own category in handwriting, "13: The Genízaros were one THIRD [sic] the [sic] population of NM. They're a transitional group."[89] While comprising his first mention of Genízaro presences within his critical analysis of the text, it remains revealing in its placement within the context of trade by forcefully injecting the narrative of Genízaros as the embodied commodities of Indigenous/colonial power relations.

While writing and righting Genízaro perspectives back into the curatorial narrative through the administrative signatures of field reports, it appears that Córdova's words were not registering with his audience. Indeed, in a meeting with various museum staff and scholar-consultants in the fall of 1990 one museum official would make explicit the exhibit's approach to New Mexico's social history and composition, explaining, "[i]t

88 Ibid.
89 Ibid.

is not an exhibit about the history of New Mexico, not an exhibit about the contributions different ethnic groups have made to contemporary culture."[90] Rather, they argued,

> "[i]t is an exhibit about the creative responses that pueblo people and Hispanos have made to pressures brought on them to abandon their culture. For this reason, it is very much an exhibit about living in a culturally diverse society."[91]

In effect, museum officials made clear the project's explicit investment in Pueblo Indigeneity and hispanidad as the epitomes of New Mexico-based Indigenous and minoritarian existences. Conversely, this invocation of New Mexico's "ethnic territoriality" (Rodriguez 1990:551) effectively relegates Genízaro bodies beyond the body politics of Pueblo Nations, the state of New Mexico, and the U.S. settler state.

E. "The Blood in our Veins, in Action": Genízaro Indigeneity and the 1992 Festival for American Folklife

In the summer of 1986, a high-ranking official in New Mexico's state government wrote to the Director of the Smithsonian's then-Office of Folklife Programs, precursor to the Center for Folklife Programs and Cultural Studies (CFPCS), indicating the state's "sincere interest in the Smithsonian Institution's prestigious Festival of American Folklife, held each year in Washington."[92] Citing the state's "close ties with the government and people of Spain," the official noted their particular interest in serving as the U.S. state to be represented in the 1992 Folklife Festival since "it is the year of the

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90 "Notes on Consulting Scholars Meeting," September 27, 1990, Accession 00-002, Smithsonian Institutional Archives, Washington, D.C.

91 Ibid.

92 Letter, July 18, 1986, 1992 FAF Archives, Ralph Rinzler Folklife Archive and Collections, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Columbus Quincentennary."[93] Additionally, they acknowledged the state's "very prolific heritage with strong Spanish, Indian and Anglo influences" as key examples for "our state's folkways and material culture…much of which has not received a great deal of attention in other parts of the country." Smithsonian-based lobbyists would later note the importance of this request within internal communications as they strategized approaches for securing state funds to support the "American Encounters" exhibit at the National Museum of American History and the 1992 Folklife Festival being conducted by the Office of Folklife Programs.[94] Still, they made explicit in 1991 that this initial interest centered on "promot[ing] the 1992 [Folklife] Festival," indicating that "American Encounters" programming had yet to fully invest its curatorial capital into New Mexico by spring of 1986. However what manifests in this 1986 letter of interest is the pervasiveness of the Tricultural Myth as the representational bedrock of New Mexico's cultural history and identity.

As "a living exhibition" (as cited in Walker 2007:118; Ripley 1968:3) the Smithsonian's Folklife Festival remains a highly-contested space for scholarly examination (Bauman et. al 1992; Belanus and Fernandez 2014; Cantwell 1991, 1992, 1993)—especially when considering the politics of cultural representation concerning Indigenous peoples (Cadaval 2016; Cobb 2005; Lamadrid 2003; Mato 1998; Smith 2011; Walker 2007, 2011). Particularly, there has been an emergence of

> "[t]hree schools of thought…in ethnographies of the wide range of culture workers who have performed at the SFF [Smithsonian Folklife Festival]

[93] Ibid.

[94] Letter, January 11, 1991, Accession 00-002, Smithsonian Institutional Archives, Washington, D.C.

> over the last three decades. One school has stressed the SFF's failure to overcome the woefully dehumanizing ideologies and practices that fueled and issued from a series of world exhibitions held in various European and North American cities during the height of nineteenth-century cultural imperialism" (as cited in Straker 2008:81; Bennett 1995; Rydell 1984).

Festival proponents have countered against these criticisms by exploring the "remarkable capacities to reconfigure and redefine the very parameters and expressive potentialities of the [National] Mall and other festival spaces" (Straker 2008:81; Kurin 1991:340). In fact, as the Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage director Richard Kurin (1998:54) argues (as cited in Diamond and Trimillos 2008:3), "the festival was founded as an additional and alternative to the national museums, as 'a way of telling the story of the diverse peoples who populated the nation but whole cultural achievements were not represented in the museums or their collections.'" These tensions between the belittlement and empowerment of festival participants and its intimate connections to cultural representation and expression have led critics to consider how "festival producers and folklorists have taken ample opportunity to present their own view of how folklore festivals work" (as cited in Trimillos 2008:60; Bauman and Sawin 1991:295).

Echoing Trimillos (Ibid), my approach to the New Mexico program of the 1992 Folklife Festival "foregrounds viewpoints" of New Mexico-based "producers and participants," alluding to the ways in which New Mexico cultural politics, histories, and memories "determined or at least influenced the reception of events, constructed communication" and apprised the cross-cultural dialogues occurring among and between New Mexico and non-New Mexico participants. Particularly, I focus my lens on Genízaro community-specific perspectives while equally attending to "modes of

complicity or responsibility" (Ibid:61) being enacted, negotiated, and challenged by a wide array of community, academic, tribal, and Smithsonian stakeholders. In this way, these viewpoints are indeed privileged not to speak for Genízaro participants, but rather as an effort to put these "living exhibits" who "talked back" (Walker 2007:118) into dialogue with a notable debate occurring among festival producers and participants.

Yet Genízaro identity discourse and cultural expression would not emerge among festival managers in Washington, D.C., but rather on a driveway in Albuquerque, New Mexico in the summer of 1991 with the straightforward question to a New Mexico-based scholar: did slavery exist in New Mexico? The newly-arrived CFPCS cultural fieldworker already "had an agenda" comprised of "looking for something that people didn't expect" while also "tearing down the Tricultural thing," alluding to New Mexico's pervasive public ideology encapsulated in the Tricultural myth (interview with SI-003, August 6, 2015). Apparently, the CFPCS fieldworker was amazed they were previously unaware of the existence of Indigenous enslavement in northern New Mexico, let alone its ongoing cultural manifestations within a Genízaro community located in the Taos valley (interview with SI-007, January 21, 2016). After an exhaustive conversation with the cultural historian, the fieldworker noted that they would directly appeal to their Washington-based supervisors to include this Genízaro component as "an add-on" since the program's fieldwork component had already been completed (interview with SI-007, January 21, 2016). In fact, in September of 1991 cultural fieldwork staff identified

Genízaro communities within their "Cultural Survey" sent to Washington-based supervisors.[95]

It is not until April of 1992 however that CFPCS officials in Washington first noted Genízaro performers as festival participants and performers in the festival's main space, La Plaza.[96] A little more than two weeks after Genízaro performers were included on the festival's participant list, they were abruptly removed from the master list for festival participants.[97] A week-and-a-half later, Genízaro performers were removed from the list of performers on La Plaza and moved to an alternate list.[98] As the cultural fieldworker recalled, there was a "division" of opinion among CFPCS curatorial staff concerning the inclusion of a Genízaro-specific narrative within the festival—particularly grounding this resistance in "who had the right" to acknowledge and display their culture on the National Mall (interview with SI-007, August 6, 2015). This conflict resonates in the office's archival footprint as Genízaro performers were added and removed four more times until finally being added onto the festival's finalized program. However, exactly how Genízaro cultural performance space interacted with the development of transnational Native space on the National Mall would become a significant point of

95 Letter, September 17, 1991, 1992 FAF Archives, Ralph Rinzler Folklife Archive and Collections, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

96 "Participant List, DRAFT," April 17, 1992, 1992 FAF Archives, Ralph Rinzler Folklife Archive and Collections, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

97 "Master List," May 6, 1992, 1992 FAF Archives, Ralph Rinzler Folklife Archive and Collections, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

98 "Confirmed Participant List," May 15, 1992, 1992 FAF Archives, Ralph Rinzler Folklife Archive and Collections, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

contention with festival participants who were also citizens of federally-recognized tribal nations located in New Mexico.

While securing $1.2 million in New Mexico state appropriations in support of the NMAH ($1 million) and CFPCS ($200,000) respective programs on New Mexico in 1992,[99] both units drafted and implemented a "Memorandum of Understanding" "in order to maximize both the quality and variety of cultural performances of our exhibitions on New Mexico, and to make the most of our resources."[100] CFPCS agreed to effectively run the 1992 Folklife Festival "on the front lawn of the Museum of American History," while NMAH transferred $25,000 to CFPCS "to help offset the cost of sign production, participant costs for the music stage, (roundtrip transportation to Washington, housing during the Festival, fees, etc.) and related production costs for the music stage."[101] The intertwining of the two Smithsonian programs also extended into their very spatial formations on the National Mall, with NMAH serving as the Festival's focal point. This becomes particularly apparent as Festival staff developed panel, lecture, and performance schedules to strategically separate Genízaro cultural performances from federally-recognized Native performance groups, curatorial controlling for their Indigenousness by situating their performance times between explicitly Hispanic-related presentations and

99 Memorandum, "Money from New Mexico," March 19, 1991, 1992 FAF Archives, Ralph Rinzler Folklife Archive and Collections, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
100 "Memorandum of Understanding," undated, Accession 00-002, Smithsonian Institutional Archives, Washington, D.C.
101 Ibid.

performances.[102] In fact, of the seven performances given by Genízaro community members between July 2 and July 5, only one was scheduled next to federally-recognized Pueblo performers.[103]

Despite this rather concerted effort to resituate Genízaro Indigeneity as noncomparable to federally-recognized, New Mexico-based tribal presences, coupled with the public charges of "playing Indian" (interview with SI-009, November 15, 2015) and cultural misrepresentation of Indigenous peoples and communities (interview with SI-007, January 21, 2016), Genízaro elders and participants adapted with the Smithsonian's decision to relocate their performances to tents located on the margins of the Festival grounds. As one Genízaro elder noted, they were quite willing to share "some of the Indian traditional songs that we sing" with Festival guests (interview with SI-010, November 22, 2015). Indeed, Genízaro participants embraced their marginal location in relation to the rest of the museum, developing panel discussions and adjusting their performance repertoire to invite non-Genízaro viewers to become active participants as they celebrated the complexities of their community's history and experiences (interview with SI-008). Even as Genízaro existences were relegated to the Festival's periphery, they still sang and performed; they were not afraid to express their Genízaro identity beyond the boundaries of those transnational Native performance spaces manifesting in the Festival's center, La Plaza. Indeed, as one Genízaro elder from the Pueblo de Santo

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[102] Festival schedules from June 25 to July 5, 1992, 1992 FAF Archives, Ralph Rinzler Folklife Archive and Collections, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
[103] Ibid.

Tomás de Apóstol de Abiquiú eloquently explained, “First all off I want to say that we do not pretend to be Indians. But yes, our ways of celebrating the great feast of our parish, which is St. Thomas, shows the blood in our veins in action” (as quoted in Lamadrid 2003:193-4). Genízaro elders and performers cleverly engaged, navigated, and challenged these complex, U.S.-based Indigenous identity politics by expressing and embodying *transborder Indigenous existences* which reaffirm Genízaro-specific intercommunal relations and connections.

F. Concluding Thoughts

> The contemporary Genízaro exists in a hidden cultural limbo. The Indian community refuses to recognize the Genízaro as a cultural brother; the Hispano deny him perhaps because of his pagan, non-Christian origin. The United States mislabels him, and Mexico mocks and ridicules him. But even sadder, when the Genízaro does not recognize himself for what he is, he knows himself only from whispered and ever fading memories.
>
> — Benito Córdova, January 10, 1991 memorandum

The Smithsonian Institution became the historical, political, cultural, and intellectual battlegrounds for New Mexico’s complex cultural history and legacy. From its conceptual origins among diplomatic cultural affairs officials in 1982, the Smithsonian’s institution-wide celebration of Christopher Columbus’ fortuitous landing in the Western Hemisphere reaffirmed the narrative confluence between colonial exploration and U.S. state formation. As each institutional unit developed their respective projects for approaching the legacy of Columbus, New Mexico’s archival and anthropological presences within Smithsonian collections drew increased attention from curators and administrators in the National Museum of American History and the Center for Folklife Programs and Cultural Studies. With curatorial demands for approachable

representations of New Mexico's cultural landscapes, the state's Tricultural ideology emerged as key organizing principle early in the development stages of each project. New Mexico's "tri-ethnic trap" (Rodriguez 1990:540) of harmonious coexistence between Native peoples, nuevomexicanos, and Anglos would maintain its conceptual stranglehold as top Smithsonian officials invoke its narrative simplicity at the very opening of the exhibit in June of 1992, situating New Mexico as America's model for "cultural pluralism" and coexistence.[104]

This tripartite narrative would also provide Smithsonian officials an important framework for dismissing the deviant characters of Genízaro existences and identity discourse in northern New Mexico. From its first utterance in 1984, NMAH administrators and curators worked diligently to regulate and relegate Genízaro Indigeneity to the temporal realm of New Mexico's colonial past, serving as the embodied buffer zones distinguishing colonial Indigenous existence from Pueblo-centric conversations concerning the distinct political and legal relationships between federally-recognized tribal nations and the U.S. settler state. Indeed, the irrationality of Genízaro Indigenous existence was rationalized by making clear the exhibit's attention to "the persistence of pueblo and Hispanic cultures as they interacted with each other and with Anglo-American culture over a long period of time in the upper Rio Grande Valley."[105] Equally, contemporary expressions of Genízaro Indigeneity within the Folklife Festival

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[104] Memorandum, "Questions from the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Interior and Related Agencies," May 17, 1991, Accession 00-002, Smithsonian Institutional Archives, Washington, D.C.
[105] Ibid.

were highly contested, and ultimately reframed as unintelligible in relation to recognizable political forms of Indigenous existence in the U.S.

Yet, sitting in the stuffy archival reading room in Washington, the white noise of heavy rain washed over my consciousness as I was transported to that January afternoon in 1991 where my intellectual antepasado, el difunto Dr. Benito Córdova, sat in his Smithsonian-funded office located in the Santa Fe-based Museum of International Folk Art, writing Israel's story, his story, *my* story as Genízaros. As I listened to his textual resonances, I could feel the tears welling up in my eyes as I considered how he could keep working in a space that refused to work in his. Equally, as I visited with Genízaro elders and community members as they recalled their memories and experiences at the Festival, I was intrigued by their tenaciously casual approach to such intimately personal critiques of their very existences. As a Genízaro participant noted about their experience with Folklife staff and participants who were openly critical of their presences at the Festival,

> "the sad, sad part about those people—and I mean the ones that were fighting with us in Washington, is that they don't know how to 'be and let be.' They think they have to be dominant over a person to be who they are. And that's not so—that's how come I keep saying: 'I don't have to be who you think I should be to be who I am and dominate'" (interview with SI-016, November 15, 2015).

This inflection of power illustrates a dynamic politics of refusal being deployed and enacted by Genízaro participants. Córdova traveled across New Mexico as one of the museum's official fieldworkers gathering the cultural materials and memories desired by Washington, while unabashedly articulating his respectful transgressions and

transgressive respect toward the very conceptual framework supporting his employment *through* and *as* a Genízaro scholar. Moreover, Genízaro participants and community stakeholders at the Folklife Festival repurposed their marginality and displacement on the Mall to underscore its resonance with their community's cultural memories and continued experiences. This refusal to "prove themselves" (Ibid) as Genízaros modulates the representational power of these institutional spaces to instead foreground assonant expressions and embodiments of Genízaro Indigeneity and spatiality living along the cultural borderlands of northern New Mexico.

CHAPTER THREE

Sigue el llanero, el llanero sigue*:*

Transiting Genízaro homelands and contested querencias in northern New Mexico

A. <u>"Vamos a cantar un llanero": Riding Across a Genízaro Homeland</u>

Figure 3: Author riding in el llanero, 2017.

a. **“Where are we going now?” ¡Adelante! Forward!**

Beads of mist gush from my lips as I breathe into the frigid morning air in the church parking lot. Looking at my phone, the digital thermometer reads a pleasant 10 degrees as I begin lashing my bells onto my buckskin leggings. They clang against the frozen walls encompassing the plaza of the famous San Francisco de Asís church in Ranchos de Taos. Joining this symphony of bells are the familiar approaching drumbeats of tombés resonating out of truck cabs, followed by a long procession of vehicles as they creep into the barren parking lot. Suddenly the dancers emerge from the plethora of vehicles as they rush to put on their plumeros, or the single-row headdress made of the feathers of birds foreign and familiar to this place. My father calls out to the others, “¡feliz año nuevo!” and is met with the same reply, gloved hands reaching out for frozen abrazos from our parientes. Making sure my bells are tied tightly, I tear off my gloves and am met with the frigid air which immediately slows the dexterity of my fingers as they desperately tie and retie the leather-bound knots to leather-bound legs. Finally, Maclovio begins playing louder than normal, signaling it was “time to boogie,” as an older dancer often says. Maclovio’s cadence tells me he’s playing a llanero—a good time to stretch out my already tightened legs. This first dance is always a bit lackluster as the dancers familiarize ourselves with the impromptu dance spaces—sometimes it’s dry, other times it’s filled with snow and ice. Scanning the ground for large rocks that have wreaked havoc on countless generations of dancers, I reach down to throw them to the side, all while keeping the beat moving on the balls of my feet.

Looking around, the younger dancers seem to be getting the beat, but continue to cluster up as they always do—like I did with my primos as a young boy. I move to the inside of our circular dance space, urging the muchitos to "spread out, we've got plenty of room!" Before I know it, the song's done—immediately I start calling out, "Keep on walking! We need to keep moving to stay warm!" Snow boots, teguas, and tennis shoes shuffle across the frozen earth as man-made clouds erupt from underneath the golden fringe which masks my face while wearing my plumero. Maclovio then begins singing again, joined this time by several younger singers, the drumbeat a little faster this time with the tonada of a paseado. After the seemingly tranquil intro, I take a deep breath as the singers double-time the drumbeat—boogie time. The circle suddenly starts rotating much faster, my leather-clad feet hardly touching the ground as I grip my dark brown leather, Abiquiú-made chimal tightly in my right hand as if I were entering the battlefield. Just as abruptly as it begins, the drumbeat stops—right when it always does.

After entering the ancient Ranchos church to the resounding heartbeats of tombés and melody of another llanero, we leave in the same way—smiling under the gold fringe bordering my plumero after hearing the priest's annual reminder that today is a Holy Day of Obligation for good Catholics, so we "better be there." Processing into the frozen plaza once again, the sun is shining brightly, reflecting off fog-filled windows surrounding it. Maclovio calls out, "la rueda," and invites the critical priest to stand in the center of the circle to receive "all the goodness and blessings of the universe" for himself and his parishioners. Shivering under the thick black coat, the priest looks around as we begin the final dance we give in honor of Christ the King and His namesakes—Manuel and

Manuelita. The circle begins to rotate once again, except each of us has our hands stretched to the sky, our bodies facing toward the person being honored. Concluding the dance, all the dancers pile the truck beds. Yelling above the symphony of revving truck engines, a young dancer calls out, “Maclovio, where are we going now?” Smiling, he responds, “¡Adelante! Forward!” Hipólito, a younger singer, joins Maclovio in the truck cab as the blaring recordings of our elders and antepasados ring in the icy air. Making sure everyone was seated, I sit down on the ledge of the massive diesel truck bed. Closing my eyes, I inhale the sweet toxins of diesel exhaust and burning leña intermixing with the churning of tire chains against the snow-covered road, the familiar beginnings of what I have come to know as the llanero.

Arctic winds mercilessly blast against my numb face as I lower my head to protect my painted plumero feathers from the howling wind. An older dancing hits the side of the truck with his hand, signaling the driver to slow down. The llanero emerges once again. The younger dancers, elementary and middle school kids, give each other carrilla about whose face has more mocos. Laughter fills the open-air truck bed. Older dancers recall memories of hand-fishing “pa’llá” in the nearby acequia, one of them points with their lips to the far-off reaches of the ancient ditch. I ask how many fish they caught back in the day. “All kinds, bro,” he winks. Debates over NFL playoff matchups, memories of gramitas living in houses now owned by retiree transplants, and stories of past New Years fill the air around us. Leaning over to me, Martín asks over the howling wind and roaring muffler if he can listen to one of the recordings made by one of our community’s most prolific singers, el difunto Daví Frésquez, back in the 1950s. I nod,

adding that they are now available on the internet; that he could access them whenever he wanted. Since I had previously downloaded one of the recordings and saved it onto the internal memory of my smartphone, my numb fingers slowly swipe across the screen to open the digital file. The built-in speaker cannot overcome the diesel engine, so we huddle together. Quietly erupting from the phone, Mr. Frésquez's digitized voice sings out. Martín's glove right hand taps on the blue tailgate, accompanying our acapella ancestor as we jostle through Llano. As the song finishes, Martín exclaims, "Wow! The tonada's still the same, but I didn't know there were words to it—I thought it was just another one of our llaneros." He asks to listen to it once again, handing me his tombé as I pass him the phone to hold against his beanie-covered ear. Closing his eyes, he mouths the words: "si fueras pa' Navajó."

A series of contiguous buildings encircle the icy surface: an antique furniture shop connected to a two-story building, its wooden stairway leading to a residence located on the top floor. Standing valiantly near the road was a massive bronze statue of an elk, its metallic snout raised in the air to silently call out. The elk is new; there used to be a splintered wooden sign that me and my primos used to hang from when we'd come here in years past. Like years past, no one emerges from the buildings to greet us. We slip our way through one song. I then join Martín and the other elders to sing "El Cautivo," my eyes wandering over to the nearby street as rubbernecking motorists slow down to stick their heads and phones out of car windows. Finishing the song, we all pile back into the cars and trucks to move onto the next house. This is nothing new, I realized; we've danced many times in front of abandoned houses, empty trailers, and places like this

where new buildings replace old ones. As Martín explained to me through the plumes of diesel exhaust surrounding us:

> "The houses we visit—some have been the same, others change as people move away, or pass away. We also go to new ones too because sometimes the Manuel or Manuelita who we're dancing for is actually a grandson or granddaughter—or even grand-nephew or grand-niece—of the Manuel or Manuelita we would dance for in the past. There also have been times where we'll dance at places where there used to be the house of an elder, or even where a good family friend. The people may not live there, or the houses may not even be there. But we still go to dance for them."

b. El cautivo: una rueda de vida

Her eyes widen as the symphony of Spanish-speaking voices, jingling bells, and tombés rushes her senses as we walk out of the Talpa Community Center. Lining the brim of her plumero, the white fringe of plastic pearls dances across *mi'jita*'s forehead. Perched in my left arm, she curiously examines the masking goldenrod fringe; her mitten-covered hands batting the long golden strands bouncing around my face. Hipólito and Maclovio have already begun singing "La rueda," signaling the need to make our way to the dance circle. Taking our place with our parientes, the circle starts rotating as we sidestep to the slow drumbeat, our arms and hands rising and falling in time. The cadence quickens when it always does, her eyes widening again as she starts bouncing much faster in my arms. The rhythm stops briefly, starting up again at the same quickened pace as she tries to regain her balance on the bony arm as we begin dancing the opposite direction. She lifts her hands momentarily to shade her face from the brightly descending sun already casting blue-tinted shadows across the mountain range leading to Miranda Canyon and Cerro Picurís. The cadence stops abruptly. We happen to stop right in front

of her Mama, her white snow jacket-covered arms reach out from underneath the tan, leather-fringed dancing top.

Yet no one starts the yearly trek down the adjacent dirt road leading to "the Talpa circuit." Instead, Hipólito announces that before leaving, "queremos cantar pa' nuestros antepasados y aquellos que han fallecido este año," that "we want to sing for our ancestors and those who have passed away this year." A circle forms with singers, dancers, family members. I move toward the circle, young and old vocalize names of elders and ancestors. Hipólito begins playing the slow, heartbeat cadence. Martín joins in. Maclovio joins in. He then starts to sing the soaring tonada of "El Cautivo," or the Captive's song. With icy tears cutting across my cheek, I join in. The drumbeat grows louder and louder. Voices grow louder and louder. As I close my eyes, a young dancer squeezes through the crowd and stands next to me. I can tell she's looking around as her plumero's lengthy turkey feathers gently brush against my left side. I can hear her singing too.

c. Playing digital llaneros

No matter what time of the day or night, it is a social truth that Maclovio will have a pot of coffee readily available. No cream. No sugar. Just black. My chile-stained fingers tremble slightly while holding the piping hot mug, a sure-tell sign that the third cup of coffee has soaked my bloodstream with caffeine. With the wood-fire 'stufa roaring, Maclovio's coffee-saturated breath joins the sensory-scape of burning leña, homemade flour tortillas, papitas, and chile colora'o as he calls out, "Let's listen to those llaneros you've been talking about." I begin rummaging through my backpack for my

computer, travel speakers, and notepad. Before I can even begin our discussion, Maclovio stands up from his wooden seat and disappears to a backroom; emerging with a moistened rawhide, a circular wooden frame, a bag of thin, dark brown leather straps, and an old metal toolbox. *He's going to make a tombé*, I silently shriek to myself. I've never seen one made first-hand. Seeing my inquisitive eyes focused on the drum-making materials being placed on the dining room table, Maclovio chuckles how he's been wanting to make this tombé for a while, and felt our conversation to be "as good of a time as any to do it."

Finally getting the computer up and running, I begin playing a set of recordings made by my great-grandfather of our antepasados singing our songs. Maclovio's eyes light up as he notes how he can still remember each of these men singing, putting names to voices who have long since passed on—the distinct voice of el difunto Mr. Frésquez among them. Droplets of sweat drip onto the noncompliant piece of rawhide as he wrestles it over the wooden lip of the drum frame with an aged pair of pliers. As the songs oscillate between paseados, llaneros, and the "special songs," his voice grows soft as he describes how he hasn't heard some of them "since I was a boy;" singing along softly to the recordings as the tonadas "come back" to him. There were also many that we sing almost verbatim today—he smiles as he points them out to me. He then asks if I've learned any of them. I nod, adding that there's a llanero that I'd never heard us sing before. Tying off the leather straps serving as the handle for the single-head tombé, he sets it down and grabs his own while handing me another that seems to have come out of thin air. I start playing the llanero cadence, my voice cracking as I nervously sing the first

notes of the tonada. Laughing with Maclovio, we keep the drumbeat. As I start singing again, he joins in softly once again, his eyes placidly closed as he concentrates on the tonada I'm singing. Maclovio shakes his head smiling after we finish the llanero, exclaiming, "¡hiiijola! I hadn't heard that one in ages. El difunto Mr. Montoya really liked to sing that one—but they all liked to sing them, ves. But that llanero, hiiijola…" Sure enough, pulling up the original recording on my computer, Maclovio excitedly identifies Montoya's voice leading the group of men singing. Grabbing a rubber band-covered group of markers and highlighters, Maclovio returns to work on the tombé. In his right hand, he holds a black sharpie while his left holds the drumhead steady—his deep voice humming along to the digital llaneros emanating from the portable speakers. Seated at the table, I stuff my mouth with papitas, chile colora'o, and flour tortillas. We sit in silence as we listen to the digitized resonances of community elders and ancestors, his calloused index finger tapping lightly to the digital drumbeat. "You're gonna [sic] have to teach those to us, ves," he concludes, "we need to bring those back—especially éste llanero."

d. "They connected them like they connect us": unos recuerdos llaneros

Figure 4: Genízaro dancers and singers in el llanero, ca. 1975.

> The llanero…the llanero, I would say, is one of the prettiest chants you can get. Because this llanero is a song that you would sing as we were coming in to a home, or as we would be traveling. You see? And then, if you would get up early in the morning—and I remember, distinctly, when I got up one New Year's when I was a kid, you could hear the llaneros being chanted up in Llano Quemado. Because they would start at the very last house up there, that's where they would start. And then, from there, there was Manuel y [and] Manuelita Torres; and then there was another Manuel Torres; and then there was another Manuel Romero; and on and on. And then we'd go, puro [all] Manueles—and now, you don't have very many Manueles, you know. Pero [But], that's the way it—it was so beautiful to hear them early in the morning; in the crisp, you know? And probably one of the things that's [sic] may have changed from when I was a kid to now, and that I may have brought in, I don't know, but I remember I did this because of what my Grandma told me. But I don't remember as a kid participating in going to—going inside the church and praying before we went out to... I don't remember doing that as a kid. I remember the starting over there, you know—by the time we do get up, and get dressed, the Comanches were already playing and singing over there…So, yeah, so we would have to get up, get dressed, and then my

Dad would take us over there. And we'd be dancing the rest of the day. But it was—that was...hiiiijola that was...Because the drums would resonate out here. 'taba bieeen calma'o en la mañana [it was really calm in the morning], New Year's morning, and you would hear the drums—*jey yah nah yooo*…la rueda and all them.

—interview with Maclovio, April 3, 2016

Figure 5: Genízaro dancers and singers in el llanero, 2016.

I'm not sure how this fits into your deal with the llanero, but here's how I see it. To me, the llanero is about connecting with each other—whether we're talking about the Manueles and Manuelitas—the newer ones and the old ones we danced for—or even other dancers, singers, family members, and visitors. It lets us share memories and make memories. I remember as a little boy, I would learn about how many different connections there were to a place we were passing by or dancing at. That's also where I learned what it meant to "feel the music," and being taught different songs, dances, and all these things that are a part of who we are. Because,

> remember: llaneros were sung by our antepasados [ancestors] while they were going between Ranchos, and the llano [plains], and other places. They sang them as traveling songs like we sing them now. They connected them like they connect us. And now, I see it as listening to the young ones and the new things they bring, and remembering what the elders have taught us, and celebrating, in our own way, our time with each other. If that isn't querencia, then I don't know what is.
>
> —interview with Martín, December 22, 2016

Figure 6: On the road to Talpa, 2016.

B. Mal-Criado Musings, Llanero Passages: Writing Across a Genízaro Homeland

Writing about the llanero not simply as a researcher but as a practitioner, I am confronted with the "uneasiness" (Geertz 1988:11) of presuming or assuming ethnographic authority (Clifford 1988; Herzfeld 1987; Simpson 2014, 2016; Tuhiwai-Smith 2012) over its representational character. Indeed, I remain wary of my interest in

the llanero becoming complicit in the ethnological fascination "in what is *not written*," its interest in discerning what is "*different* from everything that men usually dream of engraving in stone or committing to paper" (as cited in Certeau 1988:210; Lévi-Strauss 1967:18). To then transform the llanero's oralities *through* and *into* writing as "a representative labor that places both absence and production in the same area" (Certeau 1988:5), a labor which works to "circumscribe [oral language] and to recognize what it is expressing" (Ibid 210) appears as an initially debilitating proposition to consider, particularly as a member of the very community from which this work flows. Rather than succumbing to the ethnological event horizon of "'difference' implied by orality" (Ibid), I reorient my analysis to consider the "irreducibility" of spatializing and temporalizing the *différance* of the llanero whose "sameness…is not identical" (Derrida 1968:278-9) across individual or collective Genízaro perspectives. Indeed, this work refuses to animate a singular, Genízaro-specific worldview to "space" itself. Rather, it considers the new languages being spoken and experienced by Genízaro "tellers and listeners" (Vizenor 1981:xvii) within the transnational borderlands of the Taos valley and northern New Mexico.

a. Transnational Borderlands of el norte: Sighting Ethnographic Sites

Envisioning northern New Mexico as a transnational borderspace elicits and elaborates on the temporality and textuality of the land itself—albeit "constructed, conceptualized, and contested" (Ingold 2010:53). Constituting "an enduring record of—and testimony to—the lives and works of past generations who have dwelt within it," the landscape is framed as "the world as it is known to those who dwell therein, who inhabit

its places and journey along the paths connecting them" (Ibid 59-62). This "enduring record," in turn, encourages a reading of the "landscape as text" (Tuhiwai Smith 2012:232) in relation to the peoples inhabiting it. Contextualized to northern New Mexico, this analytic must be recalibrated to examine the intertextual contours of the region's temporality. Indeed, its initial utterance must first acknowledge the area's historical siting of "highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, and its aftermaths" (Pratt 1991:34) among Spanish (Bannon 1974; Lamar 1966), Mexican (Hernández 2010; Reséndez 2005; Weber 1982), U.S. settler state (Hernández 2012; Montoya 2005; Rosenbaum 1981), and Indigenous (Blackhawk 2007; Brooks 2001; Hämäläinen 2008) stakeholders alike. The region's lively intertextual character as a "contact zone" (Pratt 1991) is particularly notable within the Taos valley as a site of struggle for control of land, natural resources, and enslaved bodies (Bodine 1968, 1973; Brooks 2001; Gordon-McCutchan 1991; Rael-Gálvez 2002; Rodríguez 1987, 1989, 1990, 1994). This region must therefore be read through its historically-contentious sociality if we are to more adequately understand how it continues to color the land's temporal contours today.

The second enunciation of northern New Mexico's transnational character is, in fact, predicated on recognizing the landscape's contemporaneity as a "contact zone." To this end, I recognize and respect the sovereignty and territoriality of the 23 federally-recognized American Indian tribal nations whose sovereign borders are situated within the state of New Mexico—as well as the distinct political and legal subjectivities of non-New Mexico based, federally-recognized tribal citizens who also call the region home.

Moreover, I acknowledge the political integrities of the 35 Spanish and Mexican land grant communities which operate as political subdivisions of the state of New Mexico as of 2009. While certainly running the risk of reifying the political integrity of the U.S. settler state by spatializing the region through a "patently nationalist transnational" lens (Bauerkemper and Stark 2012:6; Byrd 2011; Forte 2010; Gonzales 2012; Hartley 2012; Huang et. al 2012; Warrior 2009), my analytical posture, in fact, works to amplify this critique while modulating its discursive orientation. Specifically, I make explicit the political, legal, and social peculiarities of nonrecognized Indigenous subjectivities in relation to tribal nations and settler states (Forte 2013; Garroutte 2003; Lawrence 2004, 2013; Miller 2003; Miller 2004; Palmater 2011; Sturm 2011). Indeed, Genízaro spatial movements and formations are neither oppositional nor incompatible to those of federally-recognized tribal nations and their citizenry who have called northern New Mexico "home."

Following Métis scholar Adam Gaudry's (2016) approach to contemporary Métis land claims and political movements in relation to First Nations and Inuit peoples of Canada, this work also refuses to become complicit in the scholarly stratification of Indigenous identity, particularly concerning the intersections of Genízaro and Pueblo Indigeneities, histories, and experiences in northern New Mexico (Dunbar-Ortiz 2007; Gutiérrez 1991; Native American Studies Center 1993). This analytical hierarchy, in turn, structures a deficit-based gradation of Indigenous authenticity in the region, thereby reifying the very "zero-sum game" which, Gaudry (Ibid) argues, does little to critique the devastating structures and processes of colonialism and settler colonialism and their

continued impact on Native/Indigenous peoples and communities. Consequently, there exists a unique opportunity to situate Genízaro cultural formations and social life within a region comprised of competing claims to place and identity which can be simultaneously imbricated in, yet in tension with the presences and resonances of colonial, tribal, and settler state power.

b. Playing llaneros along the Margins of el norte[106]

Llaneros continue to be played across the margins of the Taoseño landscape. Enrique Lamadrid's (2003:157-8) ethnographic work regarding the llanero's ritual performance contexts as "traveling songs" sung during our community's feast day celebrations illustrates a vibrant cultural memory of Genízaro elders connecting these cultural forms to "the days before the coming of the railroad and the automobile;" songs that were sung as our antepasados, or ancestors, "drove their mules and wagons" throughout northern New Mexico and beyond. Building and departing from Lamadrid's insightful engagement, I work to contextualize the llanero's oral and aural textualities as both "actualized space" and "socially symbolic acts" (Muñoz 2000:69-70). This "spatiality" embedded within these Genízaro played movements echo recent analytical movements (Berland 1992; Chappell 2012:8) toward pursuing a "materialist approach

106 Indeed, the conceptual properties of the margins do not simply encompass territorial markers. Instead, I follow at length the conceptual movements of Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing (1994:279) to approach this "analytical placement" as "a conceptual site from which to explore the imaginative quality and the specificity of local/global cultural formation." Located "at the edges of discursive stability, where contradictory discourses overlap, or where discrepant kinds of meaning-making converge," these margins foster a rich analytical environment for discerning "both the constraining, oppressive quality of cultural exclusion and the creative potential of rearticulating, enlivening, and rearranging the very social categories that peripheralize a group's existence" (Ibid). Still, these "zones of unpredictability" should not be interpreted as situating social deviance, but instead as "highlight[ing] both the play and constraint of subordinate social positions" (Ibid).

that takes performance to be integrally bound up in the production of space;" that "cultural forms …take part in the production of their contexts." Yet, I adjust this approach to the materiality of the llanero by exploring its "thinginess" as an "entity that has presence by which it has a configuration that endures" (Hodder 2012:7). Integrating thoughts and ideas within a "thingitude" thematic, Hodder (Ibid 119-120) notes how

> "Ideas and thoughts in the form of brain activity or spoken sounds have temporalities too short to become entangled in human lives. They fade and die too quickly. But of course when remembered, included in stories or myths, written down, otherwise recorded or memorialized they do come to have a presence that endures, falls apart and requires fixing. We do get entangled in their materialization."

Taken together, the llanero actualizes space through its production and transformation. Its interconnectedness, inertness, durability, and obscurity (Ibid 3-6) is realized inside truck cabs, on the ledges of bouncing tailgates, inside SUVs, on snow-covered dirt roads, and even inside kitchens and living rooms.

Where llaneros travel often changes; yet these played movements occur primarily within the three communities of Ranchos de Taos, Talpa, and Llano Quemado. Who travels often changes; yet not all dancers ride solely in the trucks, just as not all singers sing llaneros as we travel. Still, where we move seems to have a common destination: adelante, or forward, as Maclovio aptly notes to the young dancer. The llanero's "hub-like" (Ramirez 2007:3) character fosters the continuity of Genízaro cultural practice and community capacity-building through the "participation in cultural circuits and maintenance of social networks." Within a seemingly spectacular space of ritual performance occurring on New Year's Day, the llanero appears to constitute and is

constitutive of quotidian microenvironments that presence the historicity and contemporaneity of Genízaro presences within the Taos valley. Indeed, llaneros, as Taos-based Genízaro cultural forms, "play the differences" (Derrida 1968:279) marking the margins of Genízaro spatiality within this contested homeland.

There are, still, other ways in which llaneros are played to articulate Genízaro social presences beyond the temporality of New Year's Day in the Taos valley. There is a processual consistency to the llanero which modulates its performative register toward a "working on, with, and against" (Muñoz 2000:70) its ritual and spatial textures. While remaining grounded *in* and *as* Genízaro movement, the llanero's tonal multiplicity enunciates historically- and spatially-situated "movements of play" (Derrida 1968:286) both *through* and *past* the Taos valley. Yet these played movements are, themselves, entangled in their intentionality; their durability signaling a purposeful investment in their historical and temporal significances saturated in Genízaro cultural memory and social life. These "play-ful" entanglements, in turn, open the analytical aperture for conceptualizing Genízaro "senses of belonging" as multifocal, multi-vocal articulations of transborder Indigenous existences which transit and transgress the transnational borderspaces of northern New Mexico. Llanero passages, indeed, generate dynamic opportunities for connecting and transcending Taos-based histories and experiences to the sociality of a homeland that we do belong to, yet, according to the consensus of scholarly literature, should not.

C. Si(gh)ting Genízaro Spatiality in the Taos valley: a Conceptual Coda

"'No te asocies con ese populacho resolanero y vagabundo, si no quieres ser victima de su lengua venenosa para denigrate á ti y tú familia en las cantinas y resolanas. Con esos jenízaros ni palabras buenas ni malas, más que enseñarles su lugar (*La Revista of Taos 1909)*.'

(Author's translation: "Do not associate with that common resolanero and vagabond, if you do not want to be a victim of his poisonous tongue, which he uses to denigrate you and your family in the bars and resolanas. With those 'Genizaros'…do not even speak to them other then [sic] to put them in their place'" (García 2015:60).

"La sangre mixta y la sangre genízara, ha sido dicho por verdaderos filósofos y hombres de ciencia, es la más adicta á pendencias, á enredos y molestia. La sangre mixta pelea en el vértice de la cabeza humana. Tiene momentos de sociego [sic] y de nobleza sin igual, y tiene momentos de locura. Cuando ésta viene es fátua [sic]; se forma cálculos extravagantes, se sueña millones, se cree superior á los demás seres humanos, á sus vecinos y allegados; pinta catorce por docena y en loco desvarío habla, miente y puede aún insultar á Dios y al Rey si se presentan á su frente. El genízaro es más peligroso aún. Elevad á un genízaro á un puesto público ó á un trono y una vez allí los morderá cual piojo resucitado. Se creerá superior á todo el mundo, los insultará á cada momento y los traicionará como judas Iscariote á su maestro. Su sangre es negra y así debe ser su corazón y sus echos por una ley natural. Sin embargo, ni unos ni otros tienen suceso en sus hechos y pronto son repudiados del pueblo y de la sociedad. El indio de sangre pura es más noble y sus hechos pueden ser mejores." (*La Revista de Taos* 1917).

(Author's translation: "The mixed blood and Genízaro blood, true philosophers and men of science have said, is the most addicted to quarrels, entanglements and trouble. The mixed blood fights at the apex of the human head. It has sociable and noble moments like no other, and has moments of insanity. When this comes, it is easy; it forms extravagant calculations, it dreams millions, it believes itself to be the most superior of all other human beings, to their neighbors and relatives; it paints fourteen a dozen, and in mad ravings speaks, lies and can insult God and the King if they appeared before it. The Genízaro is even more dangerous. Elevate a Genízaro to a public post or throne and there he will bite them like a revived louse. They believe themselves superior to the whole world, they will insult at every moment and will betray like Judas Iscariot to his teacher. Their blood is black and so must be their heart and deeds by a natural law. However, neither of them [mixed bloods or Genízaros] succeed in their deeds and are promptly repudiated by the community and society. The Indian with pure blood is more noble and their deeds may be better.")

a. un cuento del Genízaro Pedro de Urdemalas[107]

izque:

Pedro de Urdemalas went to Hell with a crucifix hidden in his pocket. After meeting with the Devil and his *diablitos*, Pedro convinced them to have a "*pachanga*-and-a-half" in Hell's biggest, most barren cave. As the Devil began asking his *compas* how many 40s of *Cerveza Cool Era* were going to be needed to "get all *tira'o*," Pedro immediately volunteered to take care of the colossal cavern's seating issue—settling on making wooden benches for everyone to sit. As the Devil micromanaged the *diablitos* in building a makeshift stage for the local KISS cover band, *Hotter Than Hell*, Pedro was able to get a hold of his stash of tree sap—the stickiest ever known—to coat over the surface of the benches. After a few hours, Pedro finished his work and the party was well under way; joining the immoral immortals to head bang to the demonic guitar riffs with his 40 ounces of freedom held high. In fact, hearing Pedro's distinct voice carrying over the crowd as they all sang to the KISS classic "Calling Dr. Love," the Devil himself couldn't help but appreciate Pedro's impressive partying skills. After what turned out to be a six hour-long concert, the Devil and his *compas* began making their way toward Pedro's sap-glazed benches; each fantasizing about resting their aching hoof-feet. Seeing that all his "bros" were firmly seated in his benches, Pedro swiftly pulled out his crucifix—loudly proclaiming the names of *la sagrada familia*: "*Jesús, María y José*!" BOOM! Chaos ensued; the Devil and his demons screaming in agony as their torsos were firmly planted on the sap-covered benches and their disembodied limbs wriggled all across the cave. Seeing what Pedro had done, the Devil was speechless; his fiery lips trembling as he furiously foraged through his intellectual archive of profanity for a word to properly describe the kind of assholery which Pedro's lifeless body embodied. Seeing no remorse in Pedro's expression, the Devil banished Pedro from Hell "for being a total dick," exiling him to Heaven.

Arriving in Heaven, Pedro de Urdemalas was met at the Pearly Gates by none other than his *tocayo*, San Pedro. Approaching San Pedro in classic *manito* humility, Pedro immediately invoked their fictive kinship, calling out softly, "¡*Querido tocayo*! I'm hoping you can help me out. I just got thrown out of Hell and I've got nowhere else to go! Won't you let me go through the Pearly Gates, *tocayo*?" San Pedro, looking at his parchment list attached to a plastic clipboard, responded firmly, "No, Pedro! You've been pulling some shit that can't be forgiven The Big Man!" So Pedro continued to prod his *tocayo*, talking about all the good he'd done—to which San Pedro responded with ten-times the amount of his wrongdoings. Finally, Pedro started sobbing uncontrollably—with *mocos* coming out of his nose and everything—and conceded to San Pedro, "*Bueno*, I understand that I can't get into the Pearly Gates. *Pero tocayo*, can't I just take a peek to

[107] This piece has been adapted from its original version first published in the Fall 2016 issue of the literary journal, *Trickster*.

see what I'm missing? Won't you let me see just a tiny glimpse?" San Pedro, seeing his *tocayo*'s grief, sighed and replied, "*Bueno*, I'll open the gate only enough so you can look inside." As San Pedro opened the Pearly Gates, Pedro quickly stuck his foot into the crack of the gate and squeezed his *flaco* frame through the gap before San Pedro could react. With his clothes torn to shreds, Pedro de Urdemalas sprinted into Heaven and ran for his dead life—like that one time he got caught sneaking out of his *ruca*'s dorm room at the Indian school. San Pedro began shouting toward San Miguel and the other archangels to "get your asses into gear and go get that *pinche* Pedro de Urdemalas!" After finding him hidden underneath a pile of clouds not far from María's Zumba/Herbal Life/Hot Yoga Studio, San Miguel taunted Pedro as he pulled Pedro by his *chones*, shouting over his sobs, "*Pendejo*, you think I'm taking you to your *tocayo*?! ¡*Chale, bro*! I'm taking your ass to *El Mero Mero* Himself!"

Skulking into The Big Man's massive *chante*, Pedro knew he was in deep shit as he tried to tuck in his tattered flannel shirt while styling his untidy hair with his patent-pending hair gel: *Moco de Pedro*. Approaching *El Chingón de los chingones*, Pedro immediately threw himself at the mercy of the Almighty and begged for forgiveness. The Big Man, lifting up his black Locs shades, took pity on *pobrejito* Pedro de Urdemalas. Citing his "benevolence and shit," *El Mero Mero* gave Pedro two options: either he can go back to Hell; or he can go to Earth and live out the remainder of his days in the hopes of earning His grace to get back into "*la gran pachanga* that is Heaven." Rocking back-and-forth in his piss-stained Ariat boots, Pedro thought hard about his choices as the heavy stench of urine wafted over the massive sitting room. Cracking a grin that everyone—even The Big Guy Himself—thought was a *chile*-inspired *pedo*, which it kind of was, Pedro looked up the The Big Man and responded in his deep, hoarse voice: "*Diosito santo*, I appreciate you giving me the ability to choose. But with all due respect, I fuckin' hate those options! Do you think there's any way I can stay up here? I mean, the chicks up here—*Dios mío*, right?! Maybe you can put me up in a *chante* that I can't leave from or something—all I know is that I'd fuckin' hate going back down to either place," pointing with his lips to the clouds below. Stroking his manicured beard with his long, tattoo-covered fingers spelling "*LA VIDA LOCA*" in Old English, The Big Man reflected on Pedro's point, finally booming back: "Pedrito, you've been a *pendejo* since day one. But I am *El Carnal de los carnales*, and a *carnal* always has the other's *squina*, no? So here's the deal, I'll let you stay up here in Heaven, but only on one, non-negotiable, condition: your ass will be turned into the kind of marble that's all the rage with *la gabachada* in Santa Fe, and you will remain that way for the rest of your days up here." Running his flamenco guitarist-like fingernails through his thin hair as he weighed his options, Pedro eventually replied, "*Bueno mi Carnal*—but can't you at least let my eyes move and my ears listen—AND put me near María's Zumba/Herbal Life/Hot Yoga Studio—but, you know, not too close to be all creeper-like? ¡*Ándale, Jefe de los jefes*! You can at least do me that solid, no?!" The Big Man smiled, nodded his head in agreement and chuckled, "*Éste pendejito*." At that, Pedro de Urdemalas smiled from ear to ear, and turned into the high falootin' marble of *la gabachada de Santa*.

Trusted sources say that Pedro's statue can still be found up in Heaven near, but not too near, María's studio. Although, they lament, Pedro was never able to get rid of the urine stench—with the initials "SP" urinated regularly along the base of the statue.

Still, aside from the piss, the occasional TP-ing, and dumping of dirty *chones* around his chiseled face, Pedro's statue commands respect among the Chufunetes from *el norte*; embodying a virtuous vessel of righteous rebellion for those Pious *Payasos*—those Genízaro gods—who, according to San Pedro, "got crossing privileges based on some bullshit technicality—apparently due to some shady business deals between the Catholic *españoles-mexicanos* and the *indios*." Quietly confiding in his *compa*, San Pablo, as they both took a leak on Pedro's statue, San Pedro continued, "Apparently, these *pendejos* can leave and come back whenever the hell they want; bumping metal, mariachi, ska, straight Northern drum—you name it—at ALL hours of the night. San Rafael even told me about how he hears stories from San Gabriel about how these *sinvergüenzas* party with Spider Woman, Sky Serpent, Poseyému, Changing Woman, and those other *vatos sagrados*. And now it's really hard to ID them because they all look so fuckin' different: some all *prieto*; others all *huero a toda madre*; some with long-ass hair; others with buzz cuts. And *El Mero Mero* never bothered to give them fuckin' IDs! So the only way the sentries working the Gates can identify them is when they recite 'the Chufunete Creed,' shouting: '¡*con Chufes no chingues*! ¡*que vivan los Mal-Criados del Mero Mero*!' while making the Sign of the Cross as they roll through the checkpoint. But Santo Tomás Apóstol has it on good authority that when these *pendejitos* are outside the Gates, they're constantly on the move—'*siguiendo el llanero,*' as the ones from Taos call it—in their big-ass processions of old-ass *trocotas* and brand-new *carritos* as they go to see their *gente* at the tops of Cerro Pedernal, Cerro Picurís, and places *ajinas*." San Pablo, stifling his laughter, chimed in, "Bro, I don't mean to laugh, but I heard that Cuauhtémoc—you know, that high-falootin' Azteca fool?—yeah, that fool once said that the Chufes were *really* going back to the *Azteca* spiritual homeland, Aztlán—to which the Chufunetes responded by telling him to "*cóme chite*," and then going on to literally shit in his unlocked, rebuilt 1976 Chevy Nová!" San Pedro, looking up at the piss-soaked, stone-cold Pedro de Urdemalas, was suddenly overcome with rage and bellowed out, "*¡MALCRIADOS*!" After launching some heartfelt *patadas* and recently-drained *Victoria* beer bottles at the urine-drenched statue, San Pedro sat down, desperately trying to catch his breath; his *compa*, San Pablo, roaring with laughter as he pointed out that San Pedro had just sat in his own piss.

Sitting in soiled silence for what seemed to be an eternity, San Pedro began noticing how the moonlight softly pierced through the clouds above and below him; its bright rays reflecting off of everything it touched. As the *santito* followed the moonlight's radiating path, his eyes wandered over to Pedro's statue; the fresh urine glinting off of the moonlit marble to reveal a message crudely carved into the marble base. Calling over to San Pablo, himself deep in thought as he pondered on the existential funk that comes with considering the ontological significance of the vast nothingness above him, San Pedro shook his head, whispering "fuck it," and began moving closer to

the sculpture. His eyes darting back and forth between the carving and Pedro's statuesque eyes, San Pedro crouched down to get a better look at the jagged message sliced across the smooth marble face of the statue base; silently mouthing to himself the buck knife-etched epitaph:

Yo soy aquel Genízaro
el más feroz de todos
vengo aquí a saludarles
del modo Mal-Criado

sigue el llanero
el llanero sigue

b. Secretly Singing for Something[108]

It is a custom among the Comanche to count back
five generations to an ancestor or ancestress.
That ancestor is considered as a brother or sister.
Except I'm not a Comanche citizen…I'm Genízaro.

Bright rays of sunlight gushed over the towering peaks of Taos Mountain, its radiating
pathway creating a haunting morning mist across the ancient valley.
The piquing resonance of Catholic church bells echo off earthen walls, reminding
the faithful of the redemptive tonality of atonement
residing in the place where Christian names begin, his family
from a long line of *mal-criados*, *cabrones*, and *sinvergüenzas*
settled to start a new life in the fertile lands of the Taos valley,
on the northern edge of the Spanish empire.
His Genízaro name: Tomás Ángel Gonzales;
nine-and-a-half years old when he was captured.
Alone.

Being a Gonzales man, Tomás didn't fear shit
(except for *brujas*, *tecolotes*, and *diablitos*)
brushing off his parents' warnings like an annoying *mosca* hovering around horseshit.
Speaking of which, smelling himself, he really needed to bathe,
realizing that he was the source for all the shit-seeking *moscas*.
His arms lifted in the air like one of those *pinche padres* at the Church in Ranchos,
he moved his head back and forth between each armpit,
amazed at the fact that he could attract so many insects
when in the company of *cabritos* and his matted mutt, *el güey*.

With his canine *carnal* leading the massive goatherd to their favorite spot in the *monte*,
Tomás imagined himself in the refreshing waters of the mountain spring,
hand-fishing in the nearby pond for some big-ass *truchas* for him and *el güey*.
With the skies clear and the gentle breeze patting against his dark brown skin as
he and his tribe of *cabrones* made their way up the mountainside, he could even see
the plumes of smoke puffing out of the Pueblo, a sure-tell sign
that the feast-day celebrations for *el día de San Juan* must be starting now.
Pointing with his big lips to the Pueblo smoke signals,
Tomás called out to nobody, "*Puro* party time at the Pueblo, no?"

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[108] This poem has been adapted from its original form which was published in the April 2016 edition of *Red Ink: An International Journal of Indigenous Literature, Arts, & Humanities*.

Walking further and further into the mountain,
Tomás could feel his spirit rejuvenating
with
every
step.

Finally getting to his secret spot,
Tomás rounded up and counted his *tribu*,
el güey kicking their asses into gear
so that he could join his *carnal* in the mountain spring.
But something was different on this day,
even *el güey* was being less of a *güey*.

Looking around the pasture clearing where the *cabrones* were settled,
he couldn't shake this feeling like he was being watched by the shadows
lurking in the depths of the forest.
To shake this buzz-killing vibe, Tomás decided to climb up the mountain
while his *compa* mad-dogged the goats.
Finally summiting *el monte*, he immediately aimed his gaze east
toward the *llano*.

Plumes of light brown erupted on the horizon; that could only mean one thing:
allí vienen los comanches.
Gulping the thin air, he sprinted down the mountainside, praying
that tribal power wouldn't completely annihilate his tribe.
Approaching the clearing, two massive N~~u~~mu~~nu~~ warriors appeared,
each armed with *lanzas* glistening ruby red.
Tomás collapsed as he saw the limp corpse of *el güey*, his fallen *carnal*
lying still, now forever defiant to Tomás's demands.

The breathless whispers of *el monte* blew softly against his back
soothing a paralyzed Tomás for a likely similar fate.
The nearby waters of *el ojo del monte* wept silently *como los ojos de Tomás*
fluyendo por una tierra reseca.
Like the *ojito* erupting from this *tierra sagrada*,
Tomás closed his eyes and began beating against his chest with his fist,
following the cadence of his heartbeat to sing to his *antepasados*,
"*Jey yah nah yooooh woh woh jey yoh*,
Yoh jey ohm, jaaaay yah yah yoh jey yoh"

Singing for an eternity, Tomás finally felt the deadly shadows
overshadowing his own, foreshadowing his entrance into their world.
Lowering his head to *el monte*, Tomás changed his *tonada*

singing an *alabado* to his *antepasados*:
"¡*Alzo los ojos al cielo*
y por humildad me muestro,
rezaré por mi consuelo
la oración de Padre Nuestro!"

Piercing through his prayer,
One of the saddled Nu~~mu~~nu warriors called out to Tomás,
"¡*Oyes*! ¡*Dime con quién andas, y yo te diré quién eres, pendejito*!*"*
Thinking he was being ridiculed before his own death,
Tomás Ángel Gonzales stood up,
looking into the eyes of the Nu~~mu~~nu spokesman
and defiantly replied:

"*Ando con ese güey* (pointing with his lips to his canine *carnal*)
y mi tribu porque—
¡*yo soy aquel Genízaro*
el más feroz de todos,
vengo aquí a saludarles
del modo Mal-Criado!"

Locked with Tomás's defiant gaze,
the Nu~~mu~~nu warrior laughed and replied, "¡*Órale, güey*!*"*
Shifting his eyes several inches above the young Genízaro's head
the colossal figure nodded his…
With his hands bound and mouth covered with torn pieces of his own clothes
Tomás could feel the powerful intake and exhaust
of the one-horsepower equestrian vehicle
riding across the *llano.*

Moving in and out of consciousness,
Tomás remained silent in front of his Nu~~mu~~nu captors
but listened carefully as his abductor sang his own victory songs,
melodies so foreign, yet so familiar to the *llaneros* his *granpito* had taught him,
those ancestral songs he hummed to himself late at night.

It would be months before the raiding party reached the main camps,
the group gradually melting away
as they traveled deeper into the imperial bosom of *la nación comanche*.
Tomás was taken to the family of his captor,
who the boy only knew as El Chingón (The Badass)
younger half-brother of El Hombre (The Man) and El Boss (The Boss),
all three ardent members of the Tribal Trickster Society.

For weeks the boy was questioned by his captor-kinfolk
about which "real Comanche" had taught him some of those *llaneros*.
Apparently, El Chingón had been listening to the *muchito*'s solemn songs
hearing hints of his tribe's cultural memory
being sung by "*éste pinche Gen—whatever*."

As the weeks turned into months and years,
El Chingón came to grow somewhat fond of Tomás,
eventually invoking the tribe's "cultural sovereignty *y todo eso*" as the
"tribally-legit" basis for adopting the boy
as his *tua boopи*, his adopted son and given the name,
Ese Güey Que Canta, or "That Asshole Who Sings,"
but everyone knew him as Ese Güey.

Yet this kinship couldn't save Ese Güey from Salvation
becoming a bargaining chip sanctified with a clerical wink and a handshake—
Genízaro body for Spanish horsepower.
Tomás was to be returned to the land of his *antepasados*,
in a similar fashion—
defined by who he wasn't, and to where he didn't belong.

"*Pero aquí estamos, ¿no*?" he later laughed to his offspring,
"Those *pendejos* will never understand,
I've remembered to sing because I've sung to remember,
I've sung for the *Chufunetes*—
Genízaro gods who profanely bless our respectful transgressions,
I've sung for our *tatarabuelitas, bisnietas*, *viejitos, y sobrinitos*—
our Creators and *querencias*,
I've sung for you—
mis Musas Mal-Criadas."

D. Genízaros in Unexpected Places

CHUCKLE[109]

I love this cuento. I wrote it. It's titled, "un cuento del Genízaro Pedro de Urdemalas." Based on a popular Latin American fictional character with deep roots in the Iberian Peninsula, this writing taps into Pedro's rich history as a trickster and folk hero. Yet it transforms Pedro's fictive composition from the literary extension of Spanish colonial legacies in the Americas to embody a contemporary Genízaro subject-position in northern New Mexico. Saturated in bilingual profanity and blasphemy and set against complex cultural and celestial borderlands, Pedro takes on a life of his own in relation to his international, transnational reputation. I have read this piece to many audiences in the last several months, and, almost always, someone is explicitly offended while others chuckle.

I love this poem as well. I wrote it. It's titled, "Secretly Singing for Something." Based on Sy Hoahwah's poem "Secretly Looking for Something" originally published in his 2005 chapbook *Black Knife*, and republished in *Malpaís Review* in 2011, my piece is in conversation with Hoahwah, a tribal citizen of the Comanche Nation of Oklahoma, who explores his own kinship connections to his tribal nation through Comanche-specific practices regarding kinship; revealing that his ancestor was, in fact, a Mexican boy who

[109] This experimental and experiential form of writing follows the initial textual movements of Phillip Deloria's *Indians in Unexpected Places* as a way to engage with his important interventions within the politics of cultural representation of Native peoples, and how these discourses, in turn, inform non-Native expectations of federally-recognized tribal nations and citizens in the United States. Yet, this writing works to adjust the analytical focal point to consider the potentiality of nonrecognized Indigenous subjectivities within Deloria's analysis.

was taken captive and ultimately adopted as a Comanche tribal citizen. Yet this poem vocalizes a Genízaro-specific captive story of Tomás Ángel Gonzales in relation to Comanche peoples, histories, and captivity practices. Equally saturated in bilingual profanity, it is similarly framed within complex temporal, textual, and cultural borderlands. Unlike Pedro de Urdemalas, Tomás does not take a life of his own, but instead has his life taken not as his own. I have also read this piece to many audiences in the past several months, and, almost always, someone is explicitly offended while others chuckle.

So why the newspaper editorials? It is quite telling that northern New Mexico has been the sole site for sighting the historical presences of Genízaros in North America (Blackhawk 2006; Brooks 2001; Dunbar-Ortiz 2007; Magnaghi 1990); the Taos valley serving as a particularly fruitful historical site for this field of study (Brooks 2001; Rael-Gálvez 2002). Indeed, it was eye-opening to find Taos facilitating some of the first public conversations regarding Genízaro presences in early-twentieth century northern New Mexico. Yet these sites manifest as racialized "public spheres" (García 2015:60) as early as 1909 within one the region's leading, Spanish-language newspapers: *La Revista de Taos*. This purposeful linking of Genízaro spatial formations in the region to an aural "public sphere…marked as belonging to classless, uncivilized, mixed-race peoples" (Ibid) is, in fact, the first of 10 separate *Revista* editorials published between 1909 and 1917. They all deploy Genízaro identity discourse as a racial foil to consolidate and crystallize both: the political, social, and cultural prestige of "hispanidad" (Montgomery 2002; Nieto-Phillips 2004), and; the racial performativity of Indigeneity. Genízaro social

presences are thus spatialized both *in* and *to* the landscape as racially Indigenous, treacherous, and less-than-human during a political moment when hispanidad and Pueblo Indigeneity are intimately connected to variegated, competing political projects predicated on establishing historical, political, social, and cultural difference between nuevomexicano communities and Pueblo Nations. More pointedly, these editorials indicate that the legibility of Genízaro spaces and social presences in early-1900s Taos are, indeed, intelligible: as racial epithets, whose bodies embody social deviants and deviance.

So why the cuento and the poem? The move is quite simple: they make explicit my "uncanny magic" (Tsing 1994:280) as an ethnographer and community member for "playing llaneros," but playing them now along the margins themselves. Their conceptual contours operate as textual counterpoints, as mal-criado musings, as "respectful shit-talking" toward the editorially-racialized public spheres being embodied by Genízaro bodies in the valley. Indeed, my own understanding of how the aura of humor can be elicited within a reading of Genízaro spatiality within the *Revista* editorials was made evident while doing ethnographic fieldwork for this project. Particularly, after explaining my dissertation research focus on Genízaro identity to a local, non-Genízaro historian, they casually pretended to wipe their nose and laughed that "be a Genízaro" was to "be a mocoso,"—the latter defined as a "snively [sic], snotty; young upstart, brat" (Cobos 1983:112). I was well-aware of the fact that the term "Genízaro" had been used as a racial slur by some in northern New Mexico, but I was admittedly caught off-guard to hear its casual sharing after I identified both my work and myself as Genízaro. As such,

this "Genízaro-as-mocoso" formula effectively codes notions of childishness and inappropriateness onto the Genízaro figure. The *Revista* editorials, in turn, appear to construct legible Genízaro spatial presences as malcriado figures (Rael-Gálvez 2002); a shrewd layering of inappropriateness, ineptitude, and Indigeneity operating as a discursive bugaboo—an unreferenced allusion to enslaved Indigenous bodies embodying the antitheses of *what* and *who* competent, appropriate subjects are and/or should consist of in northern New Mexico. In effect, eliciting Genízaro existences outside of an academic—particularly, historiographical—context becomes humorous, playful.

So, I presence Genízaro presences the only way I know how: I play llaneros. Where they are played may be different from where they originate. Indeed, their play-ful "supplementarity" enables "infinite substitutions" (Derrida 1978:365) of their performative characters. Llaneros can actualize space as mobile spaces of everyday life manifesting in spectacular spaces of ritual performance; llaneros can enact socially-symbolic movements as instantiations of cultural memories in tension with, though not necessarily in opposition to, the textual fabrics of a contested social environment. Their tonadas can, and often do, change. Still, llaneros are being played.

As Pedro's epitaph reads:

sigue el llanero
el llanero sigue

CHAPTER FOUR

Sı eres Genízaro: Recognizable Politics of Recognition and Genízaro Indigeneity in northern New Mexico

Sı eres Genízaro, *bis*
eres un Indian desconocido, *bis*
porque el gobierno de allá, *bis*
dicen que no tienes el derecho, *bis*

Genízaro, yah jey yoh, *bis*

Sı eres Genízaro, *bis*
sigues siendo en el cautiverio, *bis*
porque la gente de allá, *bis*
dicen que no tienes sangre pura, *bis*

Genízaro, yah jey yoh, *bis*

Sí yo soy Genízaro, *bis*
sin una carta estoy cantando, *bis*
porque en mi merced de allá, *bis*
siempre yo sigo en el llanero, *bis*

¡Genízaro, sobrevivo!, *bis*

A. Introduction: "Respectful Shit-Talking" Across the Analytical Metaphysics of Recognition

This analysis is all about mal-crianza; about enacting respectful transgressions and invoking transgressive respect toward a well-established intellectual discourse whose conceptual characters initially appear as recursive echoes resonating endlessly. As both the "horizon of intelligibility" (Bernstein 2016c) and "site of contestation" (Stoler 2016), these norms dictate and communicate individual and collective commitments toward a

predictive and prescriptive logic predicated on their mutual conditionality. Indeed, this valuation of Indigenous existence is itself a value of livelihood; a purposeful activity embedded within a transitive relationality to mutually constitute a discursive totality ultimately comprising the analytical metaphysics of Indigeneity. Consequently, much is at stake when "respectfully shit-talking" inside this analytical space; that engaging in mal-crianza not only sheds light on the structures structuring the structuration of Indigenous "livable life" in relation to the U.S. settler state, but also shifts the analytical focal point toward the multi-tonality and tonal multiplicities of political forms taking shape among, and being shaped by, Genízaros in the Rio Chama and Taos valleys.

Framing this analysis through the phenomenological dialectics of Hegel's Master-Slave narrative, it is within his discussion of Stoicism which becomes particularly important to developing and deploying the signatory activity. Particularly, he conceptualizes Stoicism as occurring at the moment when the Slave achieves a mind of his own, "someone existing on his own account...[and] become for himself" (Hegel 1977:196). In realizing his own mindedness, the Slave also "realizes that it is precisely in his work wherein he seemed to have only an alienated existence that he acquires a mind of his own" (Ibid). This is where the signature manifests: at the very moment of the Slave's formative activity in his mindedness, he lays claim over what he has worked—a realization of significance of labor as site of contestation. While this return of the sign to the Slave manifests within his own mindedness, this freedom—this "self-will…is still enmeshed in servitude" (Ibid). For at the very sight of contestation, the productive violence of "objective negation" acquires a "negative significance of fear;" his own

"negativity, his being-for-self, becomes an object for him only through his setting at naught the existing shape confronting him" (Ibid). Juxtaposing this fear-based side of negation with the Master's "being-for-self" which constitutes an "other" for this Slave, the latter reifies his continued servitude in the pure being-for-self without the externality of his self-actualization. The Master, therefore, is a being-for-self which remains of himself, while still dependent on the Slave's being for self-being. Yet it is the Master's very existence where the site of erasure manifests. The Master invests himself in the object being produced by the work of the Slave, and the Slave's purely internalized being-for-self does not externalize the dismantlement of the relational dependence with his work or being. The Slave is a reflection of his work and producer of objects, reifying the Master's external claims to them. It is how the Master's self-mindedness engages the utterances of signification between Master and Slave where the conceptual interpolation of Derridian signature unfolds; the Slave's signature is not his in that the assumption of self-control through pure being-for-self falls prey to the very formative activities which produce his separation: fear and service. His self-mindedness can only manifest and maintain itself to that which it is not.

It still behooves this analytical interjection to delve into the distinct analytical tone shaping my own approach to recognition politics—and, indeed, what constitutes "the political" itself. Audra Simpson's (2016) approach seems to be the most cogent point of departure—particularly given its relevance to exploring the centrality of anthropological quantum mechanics shaping the politics and conditions of Indigeneity within settler state settings. As "distributions of power, of effective and affective

possibility, the imagination of how action will unfold to reach back to that distribution for a re-sort, but also for a push on what should be," Simpson's (Ibid 326) definition of "the political" purposefully moves beyond prescriptive diagnostics to instead center the processuality of power itself. Indeed, tapping into its constitutive relationality, a Hegelian approach to power would see this distributive activity as the re-formation of relationality, instantiating social impermanence at the very moment of sociality's envisioned visualization. When applied toward Indigenous-specific processes of subjection, power presumes and assumes a "double valence" which not only

> "*acts on* a subject but, in a transitive sense, *enacts* the subject into being. As a condition, power precedes the subject. Power loses its appearance of priority, however, when it is wielded by the subject, a situation that gives rise to the reverse perspective that power is the effect of the subject, and that power is what subjects effect. A condition does not enable or enact without becoming present" (Butler 1997:13).

Discerning the conceptual plasma of power—its potentiality and processuality—circulating through the analytical veins of "the political" enables this analysis to "re-sort" Simpson's conceptual resorts. Indeed, "the political" no longer constitutes monolithic conditions of a priori social normativity, but instead encompasses highly-contested, socially-mediated, and dialectically assonant activities and productions of "livable sociality" (Ibid 21) for realizing social aberrations, actualities, and presencing social possibility.

Echoing Simpson, the analytic of recognition remains one of its key articulatory registers. Following a Hegelian mode of analysis, recognition can be traced to the very instantiation of negation, or "that minimal action of having a world;" for, as Jay Bernstein

(2016c) notes, “all one needs for meaning is negation.” Hegel (1977:19) conceptualizes the force of the negative as “the energy of thought, of the pure ‘I’”—the power of “I” to negate anything as “pure freedom” (Bernstein 2016c). As a condition for the power of the subject, this negating action constitutes the originary division establishing the conditions of possibility for distinct subjectivity. In effect, all determination is negation; recognition operating as the re-inscriptive means and ends of this world-making activity by establishing the oppositional condition of internalized contradistinction of the Other. As Deleuze (1988:94) highlights, Hegel’s line of thought is reminiscent of a Spinozan determinacy-as-negation approach—itself grounded in the difference between distinction, always positive, and negative determination. Yet Hegel deflects the analytical absolution guaranteed in this binarian concept, instead conceptualizing determinate negation as a form of thinking which collapses upon this naturalized duality by illustrating how the very constitutionality of determinacy manifests as a socially-mediated, relationality-based construct as opposed to an innate modality of instinctive, independent knowing.

The politics of recognition, indeed, maintains a distinct conceptual character when applied to the study of the politics and conditions of Indigeneity. While still overwhelmingly oriented toward settler state-centric structures and institutions as analytical entry points into this discussion, it would be equally misleading to oversimplify its perspectival diversity as merely reflective of historical, political, social, and intellectual projects of settler states. Indeed, much work has been recently dedicated to dismantling this hierarchical structure by reorienting the analytical focal point toward Indigenous-specific spaces of knowledge and governance (Alfred 1995, 1999). Rightly

so, scholars have been moving concertedly to confront the inherently inequitable power relations undergirding the process of tribal acknowledgment in the U.S. (Barker 2005; Miller 2003; Miller 2004)—and its particularly explicit intersectionalities with racial, ethnic, gender and sexual minoritarian presences (Clifford 1988; Cramer 2008; Klopotek 2011; McKinney 2006). In fact, some have called for the complete dismantling of paradigmatic discourses shaping Indigenous-settler relations which remain grounded in the constitutional reification of the settler state as the ultimate arbiter of intelligible, Indigenous existence (Alfred 2005; Barker 2011). Yet, something quite different, and in some cases quite familiar, is taking place among Genízaro communities in the Rio Chama and Taos valleys.

B. "Now, therefore, be it resolved": State Recognition and Genízaro Indigeneity

> NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED BY THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE STATE OF NEW MEXICO that the important role of genizaros and their descendants have had in the social, economic, political and cultural milieu of New Mexico and the United States be recognized; and BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the house of representatives recognize the existence and importance of this indigenous group and the presence and importance of its descendants today.
> --"A MEMORIAL RECOGNIZING THE ROLE OF GENIZAROS IN NEW MEXICO HISTORY AND THEIR LEGACY," House Memorial 40, 2007 New Mexico Legislature
>
> NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED BY THE SENATE OF THE STATE OF NEW MEXICO that the important role of genizaros and their descendants have had in the social, economic, political and cultural milieu of New Mexico and the United States be recognized; and BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the senate recognize the existence and importance of this indigenous group and the presence and importance of its descendants today.

--"A MEMORIAL RECOGNIZING THE ROLE OF GENIZAROS IN NEW MEXICO HISTORY AND THEIR LEGACY," Senate Memorial 59, 2007 New Mexico Legislature

In 2007, both chambers of the New Mexico state legislature recognized Genízaros. Kind of. Indeed, both the Pueblo de Abiquiú and Ranchos de Taos are explicitly listed within both legislative memorials as Genízaro communities—historically. For all intents and purposes, one could argue that Genízaros are now state-recognized Indigenous peoples. Except we are not. Or rather, we are not "state-recognized" in the political and legal sense of U.S. Indigenous identity politics. There has been a notable surge of state governments independently "recognizing" Indigenous communities which are not also formally acknowledged as tribal nations by the U.S. federal government (Koenig and Stein 2008). States and nonrecognized Indigenous stakeholders alike ground this parallel universe of state-recognized "Indian Country" in Article X of the U.S. Constitution, which states that "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."[110] In effect, if an Indigenous community is not already recognized by the federal government, then the States have equal authority to independently acknowledge these communities.

In an academic discourse, however, that is so intimately invested in underscoring the distinct political and legal subject-positions embodied in sole relation to the U.S. settler state, the emergence of state-based Indigenous political existences appears to

110 U.S. Const. art. X.

undermine, at the very least, the government-to-government relations and responsibilities which undergird federal plenary power and, equally, tribal nationhood as sovereign nations interacting with another sovereign. In this way, state recognition arguably poses a threat to federal paternalism over the political compositions of recognizable Indigeneity in the U.S. since States do not necessarily have, or desire to develop, the kind of political and bureaucratic infrastructure as their federal counterparts (e.g. the Bureau of Indian Affairs) to assume an equal relationship with state-recognized tribes. Yet within these parallel universes of Indigeneity, recognition occurs either administratively, legislatively, or juridically. For States, the first two are the more prevalent methods for communities seeking recognition. Many States indeed exercise their "Indian-making" power now through legislation—bills, resolutions, and memorials. However, as legal scholars (Koenig and Stein 2008; McCulloch and Wilkins 1995) have effectively argued, the particular usage of legislative memorials creates the appearance of scoring political points rather than acknowledging distinct political and legal relationships with sovereign peoples. Intentionality and outcome, indeed, become the points of interest in this space as state recognition becomes a more accessible alternative to the exhaustively meticulous and racialist policies governing federal acknowledgment through the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

In the case of New Mexico, the state government currently lacks any form of infrastructure or intent to be considered a participant in this State-based, "Indian-making" project. Yes, it does have a cabinet-level department specific to Indian affairs, but only toward the 24 federally-recognized tribal nations whose sovereign borders reside within

the political borders of the State. Beyond the most practical aspect of the nonexistent administrative element, the very text of these textually-identical memorials raises red flags. Specifically, each piece of legislation acknowledges each chamber's recognition of "genízaros and their descendants," and recognizes "the existence and importance of this indigenous group and the presence and importance of its descendants today." I would argue that this notion of descent operates as the discursive finality of contemporary Genízaro existences; neither legislative chamber is acknowledging the contemporaneity of either individual or collective Genízaro existences since our embodiment today remains only recognizable as separate from our ancestors. This rupturing of Genízaro Indigeneity creates the appearance of formally-recognized Genízaros as Indigenous peoples, while in fact maintaining our entombment by tacitly delineating the lineal fissures distinguishing Genízaros from their offspring. There is no political or legal relationship being established between the state government and Genízaro bodies, individually or collectively. The legislative history of these memorials shows no active debate or acknowledgment of either chamber's desire to acknowledge Genízaros as politically-distinct peoples.

Rather, what appears in each memorial is an historical recounting of Genízaro enslavement, military service, and frontier settlement in New Mexico. While certainly productive in its acknowledgement of dynamic Genízaro histories, there is a difference between recounting historical processes and connecting said processes to the persistence of Indigenous existences. It is this difference, unfortunately, which calls into question the political register of the memorials as articulations of intelligible, Indigenous existence—

in the eyes of the U.S. settler state, at least. Equally, one could argue that this analysis, in fact, privileges the very structures and institutions which it works to critique; that this reading is overly dependent upon an analytical lens which has been crafted *not* by Indigenous peoples themselves, but by settler state power. Yet, one cannot deny the settler state's centrality in dictating the political and legal contours of intelligible, distinctly Indigenous existences in the United States—and the very real impacts that those determinations can have on the accessibility of resources designed to develop community capacities. Rather than infusing U.S. settler state institutions with an undeserving "constitutive power" (Andersen 2014:199) over Genízaro Indigeneity, this approach instead works to highlight the unstable-albeit-reificatory structures upon which political and legal claims to "state-recognized Genízaros" may be situated.

Since their passage, these legislative instruments have assumed political lives of their own, and have undoubtedly influenced how Genízaro political forms and movements have been developed and deployed in the Pueblo de Abiquiú and Ranchos de Taos. In fact, they were invoked at a March 2015 symposium held in the Pueblo de Abiquiú; copies of the text printed into the event programs, distributed to audience members, and read aloud at the beginning of the conference. Event organizers never clarified or expanded on their intentions for reading the memorials. Still, the political impact generated by these memorials would lead Genízaro community leaders and elders from the Pueblo de Abiquiú, along with myself, to peculiarly powerful settings where the politics and conditions of Genízaro Indigeneity would be developed, debated, and deployed within a discursive space not created by Abiquiú or Taos-based stakeholders,

but instead among a group of self-identifying Genízaro community members, calling itself the Genízaro Affiliated Nations of Colorado (GAN), meeting in a basement living room in the suburbs of Denver, Colorado.

By the summer of 2015, GAN leaders had already begun reaching out to Abiquiú elders and community leaders, circulating a variety of documents, including: tribal enrollment forms, Institutional Review Board (IRB) protocols for conducting research relating to Genízaro peoples; and political proclamations to state government officials in Colorado—citing the 2007 New Mexico legislative memorials—as the grounds for their demanding the State of Colorado formally recognize the group as an Indigenous nation. In fact, Abiquiú elders and community leaders would accept an invitation to attend the group's "annual retreat" being held in an affluent Denver suburb in early January of 2016—themselves inviting two other scholars alongside myself who work in the Pueblo. As Teresa noted, she was particularly intrigued by the idea of "forming an alliance" with the Colorado group as a means for the Pueblo to pursue federal recognition and "take back our Pueblo." Indeed, this meeting in Colorado would serve as a springboard for the informal creation of a "working group" among New Mexico-based Genízaro community stakeholders and scholars—of which I have been an active participant and interlocutor. Yet, it would become increasingly apparent that this reactionary impetus would continue to color the debates and writings surrounding Genízaro identity and Indigeneity in relation to the Colorado-based group.

C. "How should Genízaro identity be defined?"

How should Genízaro identity be defined?

This is the fundamental question before us. Ironically it is not of our own making; it has been forced upon us through the actions of a Colorado-based group identifying itself as the Genízaro Affiliated Nations (GAN). These actions include the development of political proclamations, enrollment records, and IRB policies—all created under the principle of inherent sovereignty, a vital cornerstone of U.S.-based federal Indian law which conceptualizes Indigenous political power as that which predates European contact and has never been extinguished. Taken together, it is clear that GAN intends to pursue federal acknowledgement as a Native American tribe; intending to establish a nation-to-nation relationship with the federal government as a federally-recognized tribal community. It is equally apparent that this group intends to impose its authority over existing Genízaro communities—including the Pueblo de Abiquiú and Ranchos de Taos—by unilaterally dictating and policing the parameters of knowledge production within each community. As a result, these actions effectively dismiss, deny, and erase the individual and collective agency of Genízaros in New Mexico.

Yet, in the Rio Chama and Taos valleys of northern New Mexico, Genízaro identity continues to be understood as a continued experience. Our respective histories, experiences, and cultural traditions have been passed down from generation to generation; our cultural memory continues to thrive on the margins of New Mexico's dynamic political and cultural landscapes. Whether as slaves, settlers, or military scouts, Genízaro subject positions remained intimately connected to strategic policies of violence emanating from Native and non-Native spaces alike. Even as Mexican and U.S. processes of state formation worked to methodically dismantle the conceptual pillars of Genízaro identity in New Mexico, these state-sanctioned policies of erasure failed to expunge our individual and collective consciousness as Indigenous peoples in the region. We are still here.

Instead of genuflecting to the idols of academia or federal Indian policy, this discussion must be guided by our own cultural values operating within our respective communities: mutual respect; responsibility; and reciprocity. What results from this reformulating effort is the opportunity for Genízaro identity to be expressed and embodied in/on our own terms. As we move forward with this discussion, we must be good ancestors by working to secure our respective traditional governance structures, cultural knowledges, and ways of life for our descendants. Otherwise, our inaction runs the risk of enabling the ongoing cooptation of Genízaro cultural patrimonies by a myriad of stakeholders. In short, we must empower ourselves, in relation to one another and other Native peoples, if we are to promote the common welfare of our Genízaro communities.

--"Gregorio's Initial Response," January 26, 2016

Each of us sitting at the massive wooden table, the tension was apparent. Some had reservations about "going negative" on GAN (Genízaro Affiliated Nations of Colorado); others were quite vocal about the dangers posed by the group; and still others just sat back and carefully listened to the debate unfolding before them. I was quite vocal throughout the meeting. But this time was different; our conversation was not grounded in shaping an overarching response intended to represent all of our communities at once. Instead, I was there at the request of Pueblo de Abiquiú elders and community leaders as they worked to craft their response to GAN. Admittedly, this development came about after I circulated the above letter and subsequently challenged the group to make explicit for whom this statement specifically spoke. Indeed, I actively aimed its critical lens on the politics of recognition and representation being engaged by myself and the working group; an attempt at raising awareness of the significance of our actions not only for our respective communities, but also for our descendants who may look toward our actions for guidance in the future.

My letter purposefully worked to outline GAN's political project and its consequential policing of Genízaro identity among other Genízaro communities. I underscored this critique at the meeting. Yet, it seemed that each "working group" member had distinct understandings and approaches to resolving not only the tensions with GAN, but to extend that conversation to consider possible political statements and movements among New Mexico-based communities. The conversation oscillated from considering a potential compromise with the Colorado-based group, to unequivocal rejections of their existence, to direct engagement with the New Mexico state legislature

and land grant consortium to assert "land rights" within specific land grants. In a way, it seems that GAN has opened a Pandora's box of anxiety and excitement as each participant debated passionately just how to stake out "distinctly Genízaro" claims without also engaging in the very thing which GAN is pursuing: the policing of Genízaro identity. I was caught off-guard when Thomas interjected, "—but they [GAN] don't exist! We don't have to be apologetic—they're not!" a clear reference to the corpus of GAN political statements and proclamations being circulated by the group to Colorado state government officials and institutions. Yet, there was equal hesitation with wholly rupturing the dialogical relationship with GAN—one participant, Teresa, seeing its continuance as an opportunity to "build conciencia" (awareness) while not necessarily supporting or condoning their actions or positions. This seemed to ease those concerns. Still, the fact of the matter remains: this "working group" appears to be staking out distinct claims to Genízaro identity in opposition to GAN, and in relation to one another. As Thomas laughed to the group, "if only our antepasados could hear what we're talking about now!" I smiled and replied, "Honestly, we probably wouldn't be talking about it this openly."

In contextualizing one of the more recent engagements with the "federal recognition" question in the Pueblo de Abiquiú, Aurelio discussed how it manifested within the conversation of the modern-day land grant movement, where New Mexico community land grants were moving to be recognized as political subdivisions of the State. During that time, Aurelio noted, there was a motion for the Pueblo to research the

process toward becoming a land grant or toward federal recognition as an "Genízaro Pueblo." To articulate his point, he used a rather illuminating metaphor:

> "there are two Cadillacs—one red and one black; both are wanting to go to California, but the black one didn't have gas. Both were so excited to begin their journey—so much so that the red one floored the gas without looking to see if the black Cadillac had gas to make the journey."

After some laughter, he emphasized his point by noting how "nobody was appointed to do a damn thing!" Immediately, Arón, an academic who self-identifies as Genízaro from the Albuquerque area, tried to downplay the potential negativity of this statement by suggesting how organizing as a land grant was, ultimately, "the best move" because at least the land grant status acknowledges it as a collective space. Aurelio recognized Arón's point, but still believed that the merced (land grant) should have done its due diligence and "research the other part—as a Genízaro Pueblo."

Thomas then chimed in about one of his conversations with Benito Córdova, a prolific Genízaro scholar, and the "$50 million question" he ostensibly posed to Thomas: "what happened to my people that they didn't want to be Genízaro?" According to Thomas, Benito had a piece of paper and drew an arrow pointing up, marking "Spanish" at the top of the page, "Indian" toward the lower bottom, and "Genízaro" on par with Indian. Thomas said that Benito's argument was that "all Genízaros wanted to go up;" that they aspired "to get rid of" their Genízaro identity and status to advance. Aurelio boomed back how "it wasn't even really a choice to give a better life for you and your kids." Arón then posed a question directly at me, asking why people still went along with Genízaro identity if they were trying to get rid of it? Before I could respond, Thomas

followed up by asking where "the disconnect" stemmed from. In his soft-spoken way, Aurelio countered how "maybe that's the wrong question—maybe there was no disconnect. After all, we're still here, no?"

D. "Todo es nuestro": Articulating Genízaro Sovereignty in the Rio Chama valley

Zipping through the Rio Chama valley, I knew I was running late. *Shit!* Dark clouds hovered overhead as I made my way down the windy state roads leading to the Pueblo de Abiquiú for what was advertised as a joint meeting between the Georgia O'Keefe Museum, located just outside the external boundaries of the La Merced del Pueblo de Abiquiú, and the Rio Arriba County Planning and Zoning office. Pulling in front of the Pueblo Library and Cultural Center, there aren't any cars there. *Ah shit!* Finding the rain-soaked flyer announcing the event's location at the Rural Event Center, I quickly jumped back into my car and made my way back toward the County fairgrounds where the event center is located. Blankets of rain covered the picturesque landscape as several cars pulled over to the side of the road flashing their emergencies, yet running out to snap a quick photo of the double rainbow that had appeared overhead. Eventually making my way to the meeting place, I walk into a room full of County and museum staffers. Finding a seat at what seems to be the far end of the conference table, the meeting space gradually begins filling up with familiar faces—my friend, Teresa, sitting next to me. Suddenly, staffers from the County and museum sit right next to me and Teresa. An administrator with the County's Planning and Zoning department then convenes the meeting, stating that this was an effort on the part of both County and

museum staff to seek input from the community. Immediately, a representative from the County's economic development department launches into an advertising presentation, lamenting on how "a lot" of the cultural intrigue of Taos or Santa Fe "actually starts in Rio Arriba"—leading to the department's launching of the "Land, Water, People, Time" campaign to "showcase our heritage and history." The planning and zoning representative facilitating the meeting quickly added, "we're a tourist destination, and we need to stay authentic to who we are." Translation: tourism drives economic development and tax revenues in the region, so let's monetize cultural heritage and preservation. This is nothing new, as seen in the state tourism department's own *New Mexico True* ad campaign. Neither official explains who or what comprises the "we" of the "heritage and history" being laid claim to by the ad campaign.

Then an administrator from the Georgia O'Keefe Museum begins his presentation, highlighting the need for a visitor's center for the museum while "want[ing] to hear from the community; to be sensitive to the community's needs." He then noted how the museum had not even submitted an application to begin its architectural development; that this project was "still two-to-three years away." In his remarks for possible ideas for the center, he suggested how part of it could be used as a "space for an exhibition about the history of Abiquiú." "Still," he concluded, "it is an open slate." After being challenged by a board member from the Pueblo de Abiquiú Library and Cultural Center regarding the museum's need to collaborate with the library to showcase the history of the Pueblo, the director responded "We're not trying to steal anyone's thunder." The planning and zoning official then interrupted, adding that the County had

nearly completed an archival center located in Tierra Amarilla, in order to preserve "who we are as a people and where we've been." Again, no explanation.

Y ahora sale la mierda ("And now the shit flies"), as Maclovio would aptly quip. The meeting facilitator, the planning and zoning official, then opened it up for questions again, this time calling on a thin-framed, slightly hunched elderly gentleman seated in the back of the room. Rising from his canvas camping chair, he proudly introduced himself as "Cinco Aguilas" ("Five Eagles") and a high-ranking Pueblo official in the Pueblo de Abiquiú. I screamed in my head. He spoke entirely in Spanish, and refused to speak in English. Citing the fact that the O'Keefe property "existe porque es terreno robado," ("exists because it is stolen land") he demanded of the museum official, "¡Dímelo tú! ¿qué vas a hacer por la soberanía del Pueblo de Abiquiú?" (You tell me! What are you going to do for the sovereignty of the Pueblo de Abiquiú?"). He raised his voice, "¡Dímelo tú!" ("Tell me!"). The silence was deafening. The meeting facilitator then tried to ease the tension, joking "Do you want to translate that? Or should I?" Cinco Aguilas refused, stating "¡Estoy hablando en mi lengua! ¡Respóndeme en español!" ("I am speaking in my language! Answer me in Spanish!") The museum official smiled and quickly deferred to another staffer who responded, in English, "I assume you're talking about the Genízaro sector?" Cinco Aguilas nodded his head, adding "Todo es nuestro. Nojostros somos los propios dueños de estos terrenos—¡La Artista no! Entonces, ¿qué van a hacer a reconocer la soberanía de nuestro Pueblo?" ("All of this is ours. We are the proper owners of those lands—not The Artist [Georgia O'Keefe]! So, what are you all going to do to recognize the sovereignty of our Pueblo?"). The middle-age woman

responds, “I’m not sure what you mean…if we understood that the lands were stolen, it doesn’t matter—we have the deeds now.” Immediately, audience members chided loudly, “yes, it does matter!” The planning and zoning official quickly jumped into the debate, adding loudly that, as a “privately-owned property,” the museum has the “inherent right to develop that land” and that “as long as that property has a clear chain of title, according to our laws, all private property owners have the right to develop their property.” The Genízaro elder began to speak again, but the meeting facilitator silenced him before asking further questions.

But he was not finished. Cinco Aguilas rose again to speak, this time pointing his questions at the County Commissioner seated directly in front of him. He launched into the County’s negligence of the community on numerous instances. Challenging the Commissioner, in English this time, he asked, “could you give the tax money back to the Pueblo?” The Commissioner responded, “I would love to see you dialogue with the County.” Cinco Aguilas then added, “if the County won’t give us our tax dollars to support our community, then it must make provisions for the sovereignty of our Pueblo.” The County employee facilitating the meeting simply laughed off his comments, and abruptly ended the meeting. Weaving through the crowd, I approached Cinco Aguilas and thanked him for his words of wisdom. Then, putting his hand on my shoulder, he smiled and said, “Gregorio, this is how we make them recognize our sovereignty. We must act like a sovereign to ensure our Pueblo’s sovereignty.” He then left the meeting room. After returning to Ranchos de Taos from the Abiquiú meeting that evening, I was informed by Maclovio that he had received an anonymous call from someone who had

attended the meeting. I was cautioned: “ten cuida’o cuando haces tus negocios en Abiquiú,” (“be careful when you’re doing your business in Abiquiú”). Apparently, someone was not too happy with my presence in the Pueblo.

E. “Without Reservations:” Expressing Genízaro Political Forms in the Taos valley

There is a notable historical precedent of Genízaro political forms in the Taos valley—one which operates in plain sight, albeit unrecognized or misrecognized by settler state-centric political ontologies of Indigenous livable life. For example, in February of 1931 Chester E. Faris, Superintendent of the Northern Pueblos Agency, writes to the Principal of the Taos Day School, Paul D. Whiteman, regarding his recent submission of a dental bill for a female patient “from Dr. [Fred] Muller, dentist at Taos, in the amount of $4.75, for service rendered.” [111] Faris continues,

> “Please advise whether or not this was recommended by you or Dr. [Thomas Paul “Doc”] Martin [Northern Pueblos Agency physician]. You show no such person on the Taos census. If this is a Taos Pueblo Indian please advise proper identification with the Pueblo census.”[112]

Four days later, Whiteman briefly replies to Superintendent Faris that the medical bill submission “was a mistake made in his [Dr. Muller’s] office.” He continues that this woman is the wife of a man who “is a mexican [sic] and lives ar [sic] Ranchos.”[113] The patient in question was, in fact, a Genízaro woman from Ranchos de Taos. From this

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111 Faris to Whitman, February 20, 1931, Federal Records Collection 163213-19, Records Group 75, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

112 Ibid.

113 Whitman to Faris, February 24, 1931, Federal Records Collection 163213-19, Records Group 75, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

brief set of correspondence, it appears that she sought, and successfully accessed, medical services from Indian Service medical staff working in Taos with little complications. While it appears her claims to Indigeneity were intelligible enough for Taos-based dental office staff to generate a medical bill to be fulfilled by the Northern Pueblos Agency, Santa Fe-based agency officials rebuffed this claim on the sole basis that they could not locate her in the tribal census rolls for Taos Pueblo. Indian Service administrators appeared to be policing the sole source of recognizable Indigenous existences within the Taos valley as the Pueblo, while racializing the very spatiality of Ranchos de Taos, and its people, as "Mexican."

Roughly 20 years later, my great-grandfather began making recordings of our community's rich cultural performance repertoire, along with family recording and radio recordings of songs from other tribal communities. Inside these recordings are the performative resonances of our community's cultural memory, the voices of ancestors singing our songs—some of which had not been heard or sung in decades. During my fieldwork, it was not uncommon to be asked to play some of "the old songs" as we spoke. Indeed, the personal significance of this space only amplified as Genízaro elders requested my assistance in realizing visions to create exhibits for local, regional, and national audiences, or develop cultural educational materials from these recordings to teach our youth during summer breaks, among others. Undergirding these discussions was a concerted effort to preserve and perpetuate a cultural knowledge space viewed as one of the most important means and ends for articulating Genízaro identity in the Taos valley (Lamadrid 2003). As Martín shared, "Once I start singing or dancing, I turn into a

different person. The energy that I get is beautiful because I get to express myself fully, and also know that we're carrying on something that's bigger than us: our culture." Hipólito expressed similar sentiments, noting how

> "we're giving medicine to our people. So many are afflicted with so many things in this world. That's why our songs and dances are so important: we're giving that medicine, and honoring our ancestors as we should."

Moreover, these recordings have created a new set of responsibilities for me to relearn those songs so that, as Maclovio insisted, "we can bring them back." Whether celebrating our feast day in Ranchos or sitting in a kitchen on a warm summer's day, this new role has been made clear to me as elders would frequently call on me to sing "ésta canción del dijunto Feliberto Montoya" ("that song by the departed Feliberto Montoya") or "recuéradame cómo comienza la tonada de éste llanero del dijunto Felipe Casillas" ("remind me how the melody begins of that llanero from the departed Felipe Casillas"). Listening to half century-old aluminum recordings of our antepasados, visions of Genízaro futures emerge.

One of these directions, in fact, has assumed an overtly political tone; a politics of refusal—or what I term, a politics of mal-crianza. While acknowledging and respecting the distinctive political and legal subjectivities of federally-recognized tribal citizens and nations, I would like to complicate its clarities and clarify its complexities by bringing it into conversation with not only my work concerning Genízaro-based social life, but also with my lived experience as a Genízaro man. There indeed exists a unique opportunity to interpolate "the juridic and the textual at once and link the notion of jurisdiction over texts to writing" (Simpson 2014:105), and bring this process into dialogue with "non-

sovereign," "non-national" Indigenous existences who deviate from the political ontology of the analytic of Indigeneity. Genízaro "deviants/deviance" make possible the capacity to articulate respectful transgressions and transgressive respect, or enact mal-crianza, toward Indigenous-based, governance-grounded interventions within anthropology.

My mal-crianza toward Simpson's analytical extension and embodiment of Indigenous "sovereign authority" in relation to anthropological knowledge production does not work to dismiss or dismantle the important intellectual and political projects being assumed or conducted by scholars working to protect Indigenous peoples from the colonial residues of anthropology. Rather, mal-crianza works to build and depart from this space to consider its ultimate structuration of recognizable Indigenous existences as purely political/juridical subjectivities—effectively downplaying the very capacity for minoritarian existences and formations within federally-recognized tribal nations and nonrecognized Indigenous communities alike. Additionally, this intervention inflects Simpson's affect-based interventions within First Nations political formations by reconsidering the analytic of refusal as

> "…hope that things will be different. Even more, it [refusal] is the insistence that they will be. This generative aspect of refusal might lie in its willfulness. Being willful signifies the possibility of deviation, of struggle within and between subjects, and of a refusal to be aspirational in the right way" (McGranahan 2016: 338).

Indeed, mal-crianza can be understood as a "politics of hope" (Ibid) grounded in respectful transgression and transgressive respect; a Genízaro-specific "embodied politics of refusing and being refused [that]…is lived daily as possibility and burden…and a practice that does indeed lead to other obligations" (Ibid 340). Its "respectful shit-talking"

does not manifest at the expense of tribal nations, but instead interrogates the analytical disciplining of Indigeneity as a political ontology—particularly in relation to settler state-centric political paradigms.

When approaching other Genízaro elders in Taos on the community pursuing federal recognition as a tribal nation, I was met with resounding skepticism. As Martín retorted, "honestly, I don't need the federal government to tell me who I am. I am who I am, and no one can take that away from me. But," he laments,

> "there were plenty of times when I was a kid when I wished I was 'Native' like the kids from the Pueblo [Taos]. There was one time when I was trying out for the baseball team at school in Taos, and all I had were these worn-out plastic shoes for tryouts. But, then some guy came to the school and began asking which kids were Native, so I said I was—because I am. He asked where I was from, and I told him I was from Ranchos. He told me I wasn't really Native, then. After getting all the names of the Pueblo kids trying out for the team, they all ended up getting brand new shoes. And then more than half of those kids didn't even try out for the team! Don't get me wrong: I know the Pueblo kids needed them, but I did too. I guess I just wasn't the right kind of Indian."

Yet, Maclovio noted nonchalantly how he had once been approached by a tribal official from a federally-recognized Pueblo about the possibility of "getting federally recognized." "We didn't think much of it at the time," he added, "because the community simply didn't have the time, energy, or resources to look into it." Rather, he shared a similar story of his experience as a young boy in the Taos valley:

> "What's most important in understanding the word "Genízaro" is that it was common to hear the older people talking about us being Comanches. But we're also Genízaros. So, that caused me to question and say, "oye pue', pue', ¿por qué somos Genízaros? ["Hey, well, well, why are we Genízaros?"] And funny that my Dad, an educated man—I considered him an educated man—why my Dad didn't sit down and talk to us about many of these things? Rather, most of my education comes from my

Grandmother—*his* Mom—but not from my Dad. And I tend to believe that my Dad was one of these generation of "Hispanos" ["Hispanics"] that didn't want their children to go through the problems that they went through…And so, when I went to school, if you spoke español [Spanish], pues [well], that was a punishment. They'd put you in the—"go to the cloakroom!" So, we'd go to the cloakroom and then they'd put us to kneel on a split piece of wood. And that was our punishment. We'd sit in there until we decided that we were gonna just speak English instead of español [Spanish]! And that was being done to us by Chicano teachers! Of course, they weren't "Chicanos" then, themselves. They were "Spanish" And then, in the classroom we would say, I remember hearing our teachers saying, "—and don't you forget that you are Spanish!" Why they continued to perpetuate, and push, and engrain this into our thinking is beyond me. I don't understand. I don't. Today's day, I don't—the only thing I can contribute to that is the fact that, well, the reason they did that is porque [because] they just didn't want—they wanted to put us in the "fast-lane" for being "Americans," I guess—brown gringos [white people], as I call it. Pero [But], anyway…so, what happened is that...and the more I learned about this, the more I loved it. And I guess one of the reasons that I had such a great affection and love for the music—our Indian music—is because my Grandmother used to sing it. I'd come in, and...y con ella hablaban español, con ella la pasabamos. Yo a ella siempre comunicando en español. Y yo digo que [unintelligible] por eso. Y luego, ella me cantaba canciones--especially las coplas: "Antenoche fui a tu casa, y me dites de cenar, tortillitas chamuscadas, y frijoles sin guisar," ["and when we were with her, we would speak Spanish. I was always speaking Spanish with her. And I say that [unintelligible] for that. And then, she sang songs to me—especially the coplas: 'Last night I went to your house, and for dinner you gave me, burnt tortillas and uncooked beans"]. Anyways, those kinds of songs were the ones that... And then the other thing, I just used to see indios [Indians] that would come up to my Grandma's. And they were "compailes"—that's short for "compadre" [godparent], the Indians call it "compaile." Anyway, so what was funny was that...well anyway, they would come on Sundays in their horses and in their wagons. They'd come and visit, and my Grandma always made sure that the indias [Indian women] would leave with bread and with some kind of a commodity fruit—whatever, whatever she had to offer. She'd make sure that they didn't leave, that they wouldn't leave empty-handed. And then the other thing that I found as I went to school is that I found myself to be discriminated because I danced Comanche, and because they'd call me, "Maclindio." And indio ["Indian"]—the word "indio"—was a word used to demean people; to demean, making them—sort of saying, "pues, eres indio, eres menos" ["well, you're Indian, you're less

> than"], you know? So, that was another thing that perplexed the hell out of me because—and I detested that! And one of the reasons I detested it was because I used to get my ass whipped for it. I used to have to fight my way through school. So, ever since I was in grade school, I had to fight my way through—being an "indio" ["Indian"]."

These narratives together illustrate an experiential continuum wherein Genízaro Indigeneity is at once locatable yet unrecognizable; eerily reflecting the very historical tenants of Genízaro presences in Ranchos de Taos as Indigenous peoples who peopled the de jure private land grant, de facto quasi-community land grant, yet had no legal claim to the land itself as Indigenous peoples. Cultural knowledge appears to take precedence over political status when articulating Genízaro political forms in the Taos valley.

My interest in considering how Genízaro elders have purposed community-specific knowledge spaces indeed has been particularly focused on the ways they have been utilized to articulate distinct understandings of Genízaro identity to the Taos valley, while still maintaining a sense of flexibility to create a dialogical space grounded in sharing cultural knowledge with Native and non-Native peoples alike. In fact, in collaboration with community elders I developed a community initiative proposal based on an approach which our elders have been utilizing to maintain intra-communal relationships with other Genízaro communities, including the Pueblo de Abiquiú; bringing cultural knowledge bearers into dialogue with one another to discuss and celebrate the distinct histories, experiences, and traditions manifesting in each. The purpose of the project, aptly titled "Without Reservations: Expressing and Examining the Indigenous Borderlands of the Taos valley across Genízaro, Comanche, and Pueblo

Perspectives," is to enable elders, community members, and scholars from the Comanche Nation of Oklahoma, the Pueblo of Taos, and my community to explore our respective-yet-interconnected histories and relationships to one another, with the Taos valley as the spatial focal point. Indeed, the scope of this project includes collaborating with Genízaro community elders and the tribal councils of the Comanche Nation and Pueblo of Taos to create and co-sponsor an educational symposium regarding the histories of Indigenous captivity, enslavement, emancipation, and adoption across the Indigenous borderlands of the Taos valley, while also developing cultural education programs for Genízaro, Comanche, and Pueblo youth concerning the history and continued experiences of Genízaro communities in the Taos valley and northern New Mexico. Ultimately, the project aims to develop tribal-based initiatives, in collaboration with the Comanche Nation and the Pueblo of Taos, to foster a continuing relationship of mutual respect and cooperation with Genízaros in Ranchos de Taos. Consequently, these conversations move beyond settler state-centric narratives of political recognition, and instead foster dialogue among communities and peoples whose histories remain intertwined with one another.

F. Genízaros, Treaty Rights, and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo

The discourse of treaty rights continues to comprise a vital thread in the politico-intellectual fabric of Native American and Indigenous Studies (NAIS) scholarship (Corntassel and Witmer 2008; Deloria 1969, 1974; Williams 1990). Its importance is particularly underscored when considering one of the Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian's (NMAI) newest exhibits, *Nation to Nation: Treaties Between the United States and American Indian Nations*. Co-curated by NMAI's current Executive

Director Kevin Gover (Pawnee) and Muscogee Creek/Cheyenne activist Suzan Shown Harjo, the exhibit explores the centrality of treaty-making to the historical foundations of the U.S., negotiating and ratifying legally-binding mechanisms to guarantee peace and security between Native nations and colonial political structures. More poignantly, it effectively consolidates the ontological parameters of U.S.-based constructs of Indigeneity under the political and legal premise of treaty-making with the United States; that Native nations were and remain sovereign nations in relation to the United States.

It is this equivalence between treaties and Indigeneity that piqued my interest this summer during my tenure as a Graduate Fellow at the NMAI. While ultimately resulting in "respectful shit-talking" to the very institution I was affiliated with, this experience also elicited a line of inquiry I had not previously considered: Can the discourse of Indigenous treaty rights operate outside of the U.S.-based paradigm of federally-recognized tribal nationhood? More pointedly, can this discourse be brought into conversation with the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo—particularly accounting for Genízaro subject-positions vis-à-vis Spanish, Mexican, and U.S. legal frameworks? As the formal instrument effectively ceasing the armed conflict between U.S. and Mexican military forces in 1848, the political and legal legacies of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo remain an ongoing point of discussion inside political, legal, academic, and communal spaces alike. While plenty of work has been done on examining the Treaty's impact on Spanish-speaking communities and Native peoples residing in the affected territories comprising what is now the U.S. Southwest (Gómez 2007; Menchaca 2001), no work has been done to address the legibility of Genízaro subject-positions within the

Treaty. In fact, the vast majority of this work makes explicit the political and epistemological differences between "Mexican" and "American" subjectivities within the provisions of the Treaty. Admittedly, this binary saturates the Treaty itself—with Native peoples emerging only within the contexts of captivity and enslavement in Article XI.[114] Yet, while scholars continue to consider the Treaty through analytics including race, citizenship, property rights, and Indigenous peoplehood, there remains a deafening silence when considering Indigenous existences operating beyond political and juridical frameworks of the Mexican and U.S. nation-states.

What undergirds this analysis is the presumption and assumption of U.S.-based constructs of Indigeneity as the ontological determinant for what constitutes intelligible, *Indigenous* existence. As Rebecca Tsosie (2000) argues, the Treaty is inherently grounded in a sovereign-to-sovereign relationship between Mexico and the United States—relegating Indigenous existences to its political, legal, and textual margins. Thus, one's accessibility to the protections guaranteed under the Treaty remains intimately grounded in one's intelligible existence as a citizen of Mexico or the United States. In effect, citizenship operates as the ontological focal point for the Treaty; distinguishing distinct political subject-positions that ultimately reference and reify the political integrities of the Mexican and U.S. nation-states. Indigenous peoples—particularly the 19 Pueblo Nations located in modern-day New Mexico—did not dismiss this dynamic. In fact, after the Treaty's ratification, Pueblo leaders pursued shrewd political agendas to

114 Treaty of Peace, Friendship, Limits, and Settlement with the Republic of Mexico, Feb. 2, 1848, U.S.-Mex., 9 Stat. 922.

protect their tribal homelands; some leaders invoking Mexican citizenship to tap into the treaty's guaranteed protection of property rights, while others denying their political existences within the Mexican nation-state to cite their wardship status in relation to U.S. federal Indian policy in order to ensure the protection of their communal lands through the federal government's trust responsibilities toward Native communities (Rosen 2007). Still, the discursive node of the debate centered on the political and legal parameters of Mexican citizenship.

This dispute was indeed resuscitated in the halls of the U.S. District Court of New Mexico in Albuquerque through the analytics of cultural and religious rights. Jose I. Abeyta, a tribal citizen of the Pueblo of Isleta, was arrested and charged in 1986 with the killing of a golden eagle while within the exterior boundaries of the Pueblo's reservation. In its ruling, the court made several important findings: 1) Pueblo citizens were Mexican citizens at the time of the signing of the Treaty, and are thus capable of accessing and invoking the cultural and religious protections guaranteed under the Treaty; and, 2) the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo not only operates as a treaty between two sovereigns, but must also be considered a "living Indian treaty" as

> "[i]t memorializes a pledge to the Mexican nation that the United States would honor the rights of Indians living in the ceded territory at the time the treaty was executed. As such, it is a treaty of the United States securing the rights of native Americans, and it is to be construed according to the special principles controlling interpretation of Indian treaties."[115]

Tsosie (Ibid 1638) expands on this reconceptualization of the Treaty, noting its renewed application toward Indigenous peoples "must be interpreted in accordance with the

[115] 632 F. Supp. 1301 (D.N.M. 1986).

federal government's fiduciary responsibility to Indian nations and guided by the same interpretive principles that are used with other Indian treaties." Through the canons of construction, a legal principle within federal Indian law which effectively resolves any ambiguities within Indian treaties in the favor of Indigenous peoples (Ibid), the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo assumes a much bolder character. Indeed, the Treaty arguably constitutes an explicit guarantee by the United States "to protect all Mexican citizens 'in the enjoyment of their liberty and property' while pledging "that the U.S. would ensure that these citizens were able to enjoy "free exercise of their religion; without restriction" (Ibid). In effect, the Treaty transforms into an instrument of international law explicitly protecting cultural and religious rights of Indigenous peoples as political subjects not of their tribal nation, but of a non-Native sovereign.

Yet the *Abeyta* court seems to contradict itself, or at least reveal the contradictory tenants of its argumentation, in assuming that "Indian-ness" was equally and mutually recognizable under Mexican and U.S. juridical constructs. Indigeneity is never explicitly specified or defined in the Treaty—albeit as captives and captors living beyond the respective political control of the U.S. and Mexico. This analytic indeed operates in a peculiar way in the *Abeyta* court opinion: Pueblo Indigeneity is simply presumed and assumed by the court as constituting and constitutive of recognizable Indigenous existence in the region; and, Pueblo peoples remain capable of assuming the political subjectivities of non-Indigenous sovereigns while still maintaining their distinctive political characters in tension with said non-Native sovereigns. While the district court judge's opinion does not delve into the complexities of Pueblo legal histories in New

Mexico, it can be argued that his ruling stands in stark contrast to how nineteenth century territorial courts—particularly, the *Lucero*[116], *Santistevan*[117], and *Joseph*[118] courts—strategically attended to the legal characters of Pueblo land titles to determine the political statuses of Pueblo peoples in relation to U.S. federal Indian law; that Pueblo peoples were not the kinds of "Indians" whose lands were intended to be protected under the Non-Intercourse Act of 1834,[119] which restricted the acquisition of lands from U.S.-based tribal nations (Rosen 2007; Hall 1984). Instead, as the *Joseph* court argued in 1877, Pueblo peoples had "attained…[t]he degree of civilization"—leading it to equate Pueblo Nations with "the Shakers and other communistic societies in this country, and cannot for that reason be classed with the Indian tribes of whom we have been speaking." [120] It was indeed because of Pueblo Nations exercising political agency under Spanish and Mexican sovereigns that New Mexico territorial courts deemed Pueblo peoplehood as antithetical to recognizable Indigeneity under U.S. law.

Another resounding silence within the *Abeyta* court's opinion is its contemporary resonance with the famous 1913 *Sandoval*[121] decision. As yet another in a long series of court cases concerning the alienability of Pueblo land titles in New Mexico, the *Sandoval* court effectively overturned the legal precedent set by *Josep*h, arguing that Pueblo peoples and Nations were indeed recognizable as "Indians" under U.S. law *despite* their

116 United States v. Lucero, 1 N.M. 422 (1869)
117 United States v. Santistevan, 1 N.M. 583 (1874).
118 United States v. Joseph, 94 U.S. 614 (1876).
119 25 U.S.C. § 177.
120 United States v. Joseph, 94 U.S. 614 (1876).
121 United States v. Sandoval, 231 U.S. 28 (1913).

"elevated" political and legal statuses in relation to the Spanish Crown and Mexican government.[122] Yet, the *Sandoval* court opinion did something that the *Abeyta* court does not: it qualified Pueblo governance structures and cultural practices as performative anomalies to their inherent primitivity as racially Indians; whereas *Abeyta* views Pueblo self-governance, Mexican citizenship status, and intelligible, Indigenous livable life as inherently interwoven into Pueblo nationhood. Taken together, a truly rich picture emerges as Pueblo Nations continue to engage and navigate the cycles of colonialism and state formation impacting their citizens and communities.

Yet this picture is further complicated and clarified when bringing into dialogue the seminal cases which arguably establish Pueblo "Indian-ness" (*Sandoval*), and what I term, Pueblo "Mexican-ness" (*Abeyta*). The *Sandoval* court accounted for the intelligibility of Pueblo Indigeneity vis-à-vis U.S.-based constructs—the focal point explicitly directed at nomadic Native peoples. Yet *Sandoval* grounded Pueblo Indigeneity in the fact that the executive and legislative branch have assumed a de facto federal trust relationship over Pueblo communities "in their civilization and instruction" including education, land management, and legal representation on their behalf.[123] In effect, Pueblos were *acting like* Indians, and federal agencies were *treating them* as Indians—leading the court to assert that, despite their peculiar political relationship with previous sovereigns, "they [Pueblos] have been regarded and treated by the United States as

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122 Ibid.
123 Ibid.

requiring special consideration and protection, like other Indian communities."[124] In fact, the court goes on to clarify the respective roles of the executive, legislative, and judicial branch over federal recognition of tribal nations, arguing:

> "Congress may not bring a community or body of people within range of its power by arbitrarily calling them Indians; but, in respect of distinctly Indian communities, the questions whether and for how long they shall be recognized as requiring protection of the United States are to be determined by Congress, *and not by the courts*. In reference to all political matters relating to Indians, it is the rule of this Court to follow the executive and other political departments of the government whose more special duty it is to determine such affairs. *If they recognize certain people as a tribe of Indians, this Court must do the same*."[125]

In effect, the *Sandoval* court argues that the judiciary has no authority to determine who is and who is not "Indian;" that authority resides solely in the executive and legislative branches of the federal government. Additionally, the court appears to ground Indigeneity—particularly within the contexts of the Pueblo Nations of New Mexico—as racialized, performative existences in relation to the federal government.

Brought into conversation with the *Abeyta* court, a provocative discussion emerges. As *Abeyta* effectively dismisses the mutual exclusivity of Pueblo Indigeneity and Mexican citizenship, it simultaneously complicates and clarifies the political and legal boundaries of intelligible Indigenous existences in New Mexico. Particularly, as Pueblo Indigeneity is assumed and presumed to meet the markers of intelligible Indigeneity, according to the court, it is worth noting that those very markers are never explicitly defined within the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo itself. Consequently, if the

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[124] Ibid.

[125] Ibid, emphasis added.

basis for *Abeyta*'s protection of Pueblo cultural and religious rights is couched in their individual and collective capacities to embody distinct political subject-positions in relation to their Indigenous community and the Mexican nation-state, could the Treaty's ambiguity in defining Indigenous existence open a unique discursive aperture for reformulating and decolonizing the political, legal, and sociocultural contours of intelligible Indigenous existence among currently nonrecognized Indigenous peoples and communities which resided within the ceded territories? Taking the next step in this line of thought: as *Abeyta* explicitly calls for the application of the canons of construction to the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, could the canons be utilized to resolve the legal ambiguity over the definability of Indigeneity in the Treaty? Indeed, could the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo operate as the very instrument within which Genízaro treaty rights (vis-à-vis cultural and religious rights) are articulated and embodied?

There is a provocative potential for extending the discursive kernels of cultural and religious rights protections initially developed in *Abeyta* in order to conceptualize an approach to "Genízaro treaty rights"—particularly when brought into conversation with the dynamic history of the Pueblo de Abiquiú. As previously noted, the Pueblo de Abiquiú is a Genízaro Pueblo originally founded in 1754 to protect Spanish colonial power while indoctrinating Native women and children being captured, sold, and traded in the region. Recognizing that Abiquiú was created under the same legal mechanisms as the other 19 Pueblo Nations, and acknowledging that their children were sent to U.S. government-run Indian boarding schools for nearly 40 years, this Genízaro Pueblo arguably serves as the ideal space for invoking Genízaro treaty rights. Specifically, the

Pueblo seems to fit the ideal conditions for their articulation since: 1) the legal character of the Pueblo de Abiquiú land grant has been acknowledged by Spanish, Mexican, and U.S. sovereigns as Pueblo-based—thus, Indigenous-based; 2) the Pueblo de Abiquiú "acted like," and were "treated as" "Indians" among all three sovereigns, and; 3) Abiquiú-based Genízaro Indigeneity was effectively extinguished by the Court of Private Land Claims, a U.S. federal court, in 1894. Yet, it would appear that the potentiality for this political movement would require a Genízaro from the Pueblo to be arrested by a federal official while engaging in cultural and/or religious practices within the confines of the Pueblo's land grant.

Perhaps a better way to illustrate this concept is through another cuento about el Genízaro Pedro de Urdemalas:

izque

Pedro de Urdemalas came second in a foot race with Poseyému and Moctezuma. In celebration of his accomplishment of not necessarily losing the race, Pedro invited his running rivals to "throw back some *chelas* (cold ones)" with him at the Genízaro bar, *Güile*'s, a favorite gathering space and drinking establishment among Rio Chama and Taos-based Genízaros. Poseyému and Moctezuma each groaned; the former wanting to support *real* Native American-owned small businesses, like Chenchito's, while Moctezuma, furiously waving his laminated Native American Church membership card, insisted on all of them getting "*espiritual*" with his stash of Wixárika peyote. Pedro listened patiently as each of his *carnales* made their respective cases, then calmly replied with a grin, "I'm buying, *pendejos*." All three bolted to the nearby 1953 Bel Air, Moctezuma fumbling for his keys as the sunlight glinted off the candy apple red paint. After beating Moctezuma in a fierce game of paper-scissors-rock, Poseyému drove the *carnal*-filled *ranfla* (lowrider) out of Posi-Ouingue, gunning the V-8 engine over his *gramita*'s shrieks coming from nearby hot springs. Reaching from the back seat, Pedro furiously turned the radio dial to find the border-blaster Genízaro radio station, 87.8 KNDN. The other two had never heard of this station, but Pedro insisted they keep listening—his *primos*, DJ Nacho NDN and DJ Ya Jey Yo—were finishing their set with the Texas Tornados classic, "Guacamole." Again, neither Poseyému nor Moctezuma had

heard this *rola* (jam), but quickly began to sing along with Pedro as he sang "Gua-camole! Gua-camole! We were ma-king gua-camole all night long!"

THUNK! A plume of white and brown feathers erupted around the lowriders. Immediately Moctezuma started yelling furiously at Poseyému and Pedro de Urdemalas, code-switching his profanity between Spanish, English, and Nahuatl. As if spontaneously manifesting behind them, blaring sirens and flashing lights added to the chaotic symphony being performed inside the *ranfla*. Pulling over, Poseyému reassured his *carnales* that they needed "to act as cool as *pepinos* (cucumbers), 'cuz they don't got shit on us." Moctezuma viciously seethed under his breath, while Pedro sat in the back smiling from ear-to-ear. Looking back, Pedro noticed that the cop car wasn't a cop car at all, but instead an old, rattletrap U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service vehicle commonly known as "*El Rattler*." The jalopy Ford Bronco had clearly been stationed in Genízaro Country at some point, Pedro commented to his *broditas*, pointing out that he saw the stories of his people, what Genízaros called *autocuentos*, etched all over the SUV. Poseyému began to argue with Pedro about Tewa scratches predating the Genízaro ones when the Critter Cop, Officer Bernard Pfeiffer, began walking toward them.

Wearing yellow-lens aviator glasses and knockoff Birkenstocks with government-issued black tube socks, Officer Pfeiffer approached the three *amigos* with the casualness of a middle school boy going to a dance—Pedro quickly whispering that he knew this fool: ¡*éste es el Barney Fife* (this is The Barney Fife)! Officer Pfeiffer's unnatural, jerking sidestep movements between the drivers-side and passenger-side window made the instinct to laugh all the more difficult to suppress—clearly he couldn't decide which side would be better for engaging them. After making up his mind and sidestepping to the driver's side, Officer Pfeiffer called out, "Good afternoon, gentlemen. Moo-ee boo-ehnuhs dee-uhs, hohm-brays." Their smiles immediately melted away from their faces. Officer Pfeiffer immediately began apologizing if he had said something that was offensive—then stuttered his way to say, "Well, g-gentlemen. D-do you know why I st-topped you this afternoon?" All three shook their heads in silence. Pfeiffer continued, "Well, I s-saw you hit that g-golden eagle back th-there. And that, g-gentlemen, is a f-f-federal offense—a f-f-felony, to my understanding." All three remained silent and stoic, as if Edward Curtis's portraits had come to life—except without Pedro or Moctezuma in the frame. Poseyému took a deep breath, and calmly replied, "Officer *Barney Fife*, I respectfully disagree with your assessment of the situation. If my understanding is correct, which it is, then you are outside of your jurisdiction," pointing with his lips to the highway sign reading "Entering Posi-Ouingue Pueblo Reservation." He continued, "and as such, you do not have the authority to charge me with exercising my inherently sovereign, treaty-protected rights to religious freedom and practice within the exterior boundaries of my Pueblo's land grant." Officer Pfeiffer pondered on this for a minute, then calmly responded, "Sir, do you have a permit for killing that golden eagle?" Poseyému responded defiantly, "Hell no, white man! I don't need no fuckin' permit to exercise my cultural and religious rights." Repositioning his sandal-laden footing, Officer

Pfeiffer raised his voice and barked, “Sir, that is not the law! As a federal law enforcement official, I *do* have jurisdiction within tribal reservations. And since you do not have a permit as stipulated under the federal Bald and Golden Eagle Protection Act, I must ask you to step out of the vehicle! NOW!” Lowering his head, Officer Pfeiffer realized there were other men in the car, shouting, “and who the hell are you two?!” Moctezuma was frozen with shock, while Pedro responded slyly, “¿*cómo*?” “Ah shit,” Pfeiffer moaned as he reached for his radio and called, “This is Officer Pfeiffer. I’m requesting Border Patrol agents to provide assistance with an arrest I am making just short of the Poh-see Oo-wing-gay Poo-way-blow Reservation border. It appears we have two Meskin men who only speak Spanish.” As if snapping him out of a trance, Moctezuma abruptly began yelling at the top of his voice, “Fuck that shit! I’m Indigenous royalty, *gabacho*! My blood runs through this land, and has been here before your ancestors could even fathom the idea of using wood to make a boat to cross a river—let alone an entire fuckin’ ocean! This is Aztlán—the ancestral homeland of the Azteca-Nahua-Mexica people, and it is our birth rite to come to the northern frontier of our empire for whatever fuckin’ reason we please!” Pedro remained silent, smiling as his *broditas* shouted down *el Barney Fife* with U.S. and international legal doctrines on the rights of Indigenous peoples and tribal nations. It would take the caravan of Border Patrol agents several hours to reach the remote road, pulling the limply disobedient body of el Genízaro Pedro de Urdemalas from the *ranfla*, and transporting him to the corporate-run immigration detention center in Artesia, New Mexico where he was booked under the name, “Juan Hembra.” Poseyému was taken to the Pueblo’s BIA-run correctional facility by ten BIA police officers—two holding each arm, leg, and his head. Moctezuma eventually admitted that he was a dual citizen of Mexico and the United States, and was free to go.

It would take Poseyému a day to be fully processed and released from the BIA’s custody—his case immediately taken on *pro se* by J. Santiago Amador, the Special Rapporteur on Indigenous Issues for the United Nations. Pedro, on the other hand, was denied bail for his continued refusal to cooperate with the Public Defender’s office. Deeming his pleasantly uncooperative attitude a “national security threat,” federal law enforcement agents obtained an expedited search warrant for his *chante* after learning from “two confidential informants” that Pedro used feathers “from eagles, hawks, turkeys, quail—you name it” to make his *plumeros* (headdresses). According to the evidence inventory log, agents “located a shit-ton of turkey feathers—like an inordinate amount of feathers—to the point where it is impossible to accurately account for their exact quantity. However,” the report continues, “Special Agents Chavez, Ortiz, and U.S. Fish and Wildlife Officer Bernard Pfeiffer did find a glass case atop a coffee-stained card table in the bedroom containing 1 (one) flight feather—tail feather, according to Pfeiffer—of an adult golden eagle. Inside the case was a slip of parchment paper with faded handwriting with the inscription: *Sigue el llanero, el llanero sigue*.

Poseyému's court case immediately gained international attention as Indian Country Today reporters called it "the case of the century for Indian Country," and "the ultimate test of political sovereignty for tribal nations"—to the point that television stations broadcasted the court proceedings live. Poseyému met with teams of attorneys from the Native American Rights Fund, National Council of American Indians, and the All-Indian Pueblo Council. His attorney, J. Santiago Amador, argued eloquently before the federal district court judge in Albuquerque that "the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Your Honor, was, itself, not just a treaty that ended military hostilities between military forces of the United States and Mexico; rather, it is, in fact, an Indian treaty in its protection of cultural and religious rights for Mexican citizens which, in this case, includes tribal citizens of the 19 Pueblo Nations. What I'm arguing, Your Honor, is that Pueblo peoples were dual citizens of their Pueblo Nation and the Mexican nation-state—yet this dual citizenship did not undermine, counteract, or erase their Indigeneity. Sure, the whole premise of establishing Pueblo Indigeneity in the 1913 *Sandoval* court is that Pueblo peoples, while having elevated political and legal rights under the Mexican government, were *not* Mexican citizens. Hell, one could argue that it is this very incompatibility between Pueblos-as-Mexicans and Pueblos-as-Indians that serves as the legal linchpin for federal authorities to assume plenary power over Pueblo Nations in New Mexico after the U.S. invasion in 1848. But that's not at issue today. Rather, Your Honor, I'm simply arguing that the political integrities of Pueblo Nations, as distinct political and legal subjects in relation to colonial and/or settler state power, do not unravel or dissipate when they assume the rights and responsibilities of Mexican citizenship being imposed upon them by authorities in Mexico City under the 1821 *Plan de Iguala*. So, when we consider where the alleged crime took place—in this case, within the exterior boundaries of the Posi-Ouingue Pueblo Reservation, which also comprises the exterior boundaries of the Pueblo's land grant established under Spanish colonial authority, and maintained under Mexican rule—this Court must ensure that the treaty's Article IX protections of cultural and religious rights of Mexican citizens be equally applied toward Pueblo peoples and Nations. Pueblo "Mexican-ness" and Pueblo Indigeneity are simply incontrovertible and indivisible." The room fell silent, only to be disturbed by the muffled-yet-intelligible chants of Pedro de Urdemalas resonating from his holding cell underneath the courtroom: "*Raise your hand! Make a fist! Ind-yun Mexicans exist!*" After a three-hour recess—due mostly to Pedro's nonstop chanting—the federal judge ruled in favor of Poseyému; taking a step further with this line of thought by adding in his opinion that the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo also be considered a "living, Indian treaty" to be interpreted according to the special principles governing the construal of Indian treaties—the canons of construction. Again, Pedro's shouts could be heard from underneath, booming: "*Raise your hand! Make a fist! Ind-yun Mexicans exist!*"

Hearing his *carnal*'s success, Pedro de Urdemalas felt so confident in his ability to replicate Poseyému's legal argument that he went into his trial as his own lawyer. But upon launching into his legal reasoning peppering the famously obscure *U.S. v. Hembra*

case, Pedro quickly realized that his arguments weren't landing the way they did for Poseyému. Prosecutors kept interrupting him with objections. Indeed, Assistant U.S. Attorney Brandon Price mockingly retorted during his cross-examination of Pedro: "Mr. Hehmbrah, do you belong to a Native American tribe?" Pedro responded, "Well, I'm Genízaro and—" "THAT!" Price interrupted, "was not my question, Mr. Hehmbrah. I'll rephrase it in simpler terms: Are you a citizen of a tribal nation which is officially recognized by the United States federal government?" Pedro responded matter-of-factly, "I'm Genízaro, and belong to a Genízaro family who belongs to a Genízaro community whose relations extend to other Genízaro communities in my homeland." Price then asked, "Do you have any immediate or extended family who are tribal citizens of a federally-recognized American Indian tribal nation?" Pedro responded, "I'm Genízaro." Smirking, the young prosecutor commented, "Well, that's all fine and dandy for your whole 'Hen-nee-zah-row' deal, Mr. Hehmbrah. But, for the purposes of the federal statutes under which you are charged—specifically, the Bald and Golden Eagle Protection Act, and Indian Arts and Crafts Act—would you say that you meet the legal definition for being an "Indian," as a tribal citizen of a federally-recognized tribal nation?" Pedro sat in silence, thinking for a moment and retorted, "I would say that I'm all *pa' la chuec* any way I respond to that question. I can tell you about our songs, our dances, our stories, our memories. They're what sustain me when I make *plumeros* for my offspring to celebrate who we are. But, let's put it this way: if the only way I can see myself as a Genízaro man is to wear your glasses to make sense of my world, *pues chale*, bro. You do what you need to do, *y yo lo mismo*." His smirk unchanged, the baby-faced prosecutor responded, "Your Honor, I object to Mr. Hehmbrah's comments as hearsay without validity or factual basis, and move that they be stricken from the record." The judge barked, "Objection sustained."

Pedro was eventually convicted of three felonies for: "knowingly and willingly possessing a golden eagle feather as a non-Indian;" "purposely making Native American-imitating headdresses to be distributed to other non-Indians;" and "selling a handmade, Native American-imitating goat skin hand drum for *carne seca* (deer jerky) valued at $10 (ten dollars) to another non-Indian." While his appeal for a presidential pardon was swiftly denied—the White House simply responding, "Fuck. No."—Pedro's prison sentence was later commuted under the Obama administration's commutation policy for nonviolent federal offenders. Upon his release, Pedro asked his *carnales* Poseyému and Moctezuma, who went to go pick him up at the federal *pinta* (prison) in La Tuna, Texas, if they could take him "*pa'lla*," pointing with his lips southward, "to go visit the *Tiguas* down in *el Chuco* (El Paso, Texas). I've got a *primo* who married into the Pueblo," he continued excitedly, "*y mi prim me dijo que los Tiguas tienen* all kinds of feathers—and that he might even be able to hook me up with a pair of *teguas* (moccasins) for cheap since his *cuña'o*'s (brother-in-law) apparently got a hook-up in J-Town (Ciudad Juárez)."

Moctezuma shook his head and laughed, "Bro, that's the whole reason why you got sent to the *pinta* in the first place! Didn't you learn anything?" Pedro calmly replied,

"I did, *carnal*. I learned the true meaning behind an old Genízaro *dicho*: *cada chango a su propio culumpio* (to each monkey, their own vine). I learned that you've got your ways *con los Aztecas*; that Poseyému's got his ways with Tewa peoples; and that I've got my Genízaro *güeys que han vivido en el norte*. I was convicted for being Genízaro, *y bueno*: I'll be guilty of that until the day I die. Call it stubbornness; call it being *sinvergüenza*; call it whatever you want. *Soy yo*, bro."

G. Concluding Thoughts

Within the contexts of Genízaro political forms in the Rio Chama and Taos valleys, one can argue that "the political" constitutes and is constitutive of a multi-tonality and tonal multiplicity. Among each is a diversity of perspectives reflecting and inflecting how distinctly Indigenous political forms can manifest in tension with, or even beyond, the prerogatives of settler state-centric constructs, while still aware of its significance within the contexts of community-based discussions concerning Genízaro identity and Indigeneity. Indeed, this mindfulness manifests in a variety of ways: open consideration of tribal acknowledgment by the federal government; self-recognition of inherent capacity to articulate political and legal discourses of tribal sovereignty; open dialogue with other Genízaro communities to build community capacity; and even outright rejection of the necessity to assume recognizable Indigenous political forms which may not emulate or conform to the historical or contemporary development of the community. In this way, examining how Genízaro communities approach the structuration of Indigenous "livable life" is not to couch Genízaro political projects as entirely corrupted by political ontologies not of their own creation or choosing. Rather, it is a practical appreciation of how Genízaros do not live in political or intellectual vacuums. Indeed, it is the ways in which Genízaro communities purpose these

discussions which illustrates the diversity, and perhaps even disjunctive, contexts within which Genízaro identity must navigate and engage.

Political movements are indeed occurring within two communities who have been some of the most public in vocalizing Genízaro Indigeneity as a living legacy and continued experience. Indeed, I have been an observer, participant, advisor, singer, and fierce relative in these very spaces; walking alongside my relations as we walk through Genízaro homelands, singing songs passed down from generation to generation, speaking candidly about the struggles of textually "speaking for" those more worthy of having their voices heard than I; while still vocalizing "mis dos centavos" (my two cents) about the potentialities and pitfalls of recognition politics within the distinct contexts of Genízaro identity discourse in Ranchos de Taos and the Pueblo de Abiquiú. Admittedly, I have shaped the narrative as the ethnographer, yet I have been shaped by an ethnographic project which has been a lifetime in the making. As such, the seemingly disparate voices emerging from the text are not disparate at all; they reflect the highly-contested nature of an ongoing conversation taking place now. Moreover, they depict reformulations of "the political" which embody the very processuality of this discourse. It is an ongoing discussion, and what has been written onto these pages are mere inscriptive snapshots of ethnographic moments which continue to develop and transform today. Still, these moments remain meaningful in their capacity to capture instances where Genízaro stakeholders work to ensure the preservability and continuity of individual, family, and community histories and experiences in the face of tenacious historical, political, social, and intellectual projects which remain adamant on silencing Genízaro voices from telling

our histories and experiences. Power is, indeed, being redistributed in this text; but it is now being inflected to enunciate words which speak beyond my humble existence, and toward Genízaro futures.

CONCLUSION

> As I sit here in the hospital waiting for my newborn daughter to return to my arms, sleep deprivation has definitely found a home in my consciousness. Yet the clarity it has provided in a recent bout with the politics of recognition and Indigeneity, in my humble opinion, deserves recognition (pun absolutely intended). This bout, to me, is representative of the violence continuing to be directed at Genízaros, and comes in the innocuous form, of all things, of my daughter's birth certificate form. This form asks for information ranging from residency of the mother to the father's place of birth. But now that I've arrived at the portion where the form asks for the mother and father to identify their race, I'm stuck. Immediately to the side of the question reads, "If American Indian, what tribe?" Needless to say, I've spent probably an hour and a half reflecting on these two questions. Embedded are issues that, quite frankly, have put me in a dilemma: Do I assert that my daughter and I are, in fact, Native peoples—specifically as Genízaros? Would my maintaining a Genízaro-specific Indigenous identity and experience—one that operates outside of the political and juridical logics of federal Indian law—be rendered by the government as any different from those claims made by, say, self-identified Cherokee "racial shifters?" Would/Could my claims to Genízaro identity and Indigeneity be translated into a race-based equivalence of Nativeness—potentially running the risk of perpetuating the racialization of Indigeneity which continues to undermine the political sovereignty and self-determination of federally-recognized Native communities by negating their distinct political relationships with the U.S. government? I need sleep.

Filled with the sweet adrenaline of newborn fatherhood, I wrote this the day after my daughter was born. I remember my tears trickling onto the electronic screen like man-made raindrops gently splattering against the miniature glass window; my right thumb smearing saline residues across the phone's surface, forever soaking the margins of this digital page. As I struggled against reifying the colonial logics of racialization and Indigeneity being layered onto her soft, brown skin, my own breathing grew shallower and faster. Mother and daughter slept; their deep breathing silently piercing through the

chorus of machines and muted chatter. Watching my child sleep in that hospital room in Austin, I listened intently to the quiet resonances of my life's labor of love breathing life into me.

Recalling this cherished moment with my daughter, I am reminded: my lived experience as a Genízaro man informs the analytical tone which this dissertation project presumes and assumes. I will be the first to admit that the sites of ethnohistorical and ethnographic inquiry being explored within these pages are not the products of intellectual curiosity; how I situate myself as a Genízaro scholar, father, and relative reflects my responsibilities and obligations to the communities from which this work flows. Equally, it would be disingenuous to downplay or deny how this work purposefully situates itself within an anthropologically-oriented space of knowledge production. Yet, as I watched my daughter sleep for the first time on that summer day, it became abundantly clear: this work is not meant for academic eyes only. I am also writing to my daughter and toward her future; my words serving as profanity-laden textual time capsules communicating my mal-crianza—my respectful transgressions and transgressive respect—toward the discursive parameters of contemporary Genízaro social life and subjectivities thriving in northern New Mexico.

Yet, the contributions being made by this work span beyond the geographical border of the region—or even its positioning within Genízaro-specific texts and contexts. Indeed, this study works to shift the analytical focal point beyond the discursive entombment of Genízaro identity discourse being espoused by scholars today. Instead, it interrogates the structuration of intelligible, Indigenous existence vis-à-vis settler state

and Indigenous power structures, examining: why youth being identified from the Pueblo de Abiquiú were enrolled and expelled from Indian boarding schools between 1890 and 1940; how Genízaro cultural representations were conceptualized within Native-specific curatorial and performative spaces on the National Mall in 1992; how Genízaro knowledge spaces manifest within and navigate complex cultural landscapes of the Taos valley; and consider how each community now approaches the politics of Indigenous recognition. While facilitating a rigorous research agenda, my analytical and methodological movements are intently focused on particular histories and experiences of Genízaro social life within the Rio Chama and Taos valleys. In fact, it is this specificity which enables my analysis to move past ethnological prerogatives which demand the translatability of Indigenous political forms. Rather, it is due to each community's distinctiveness that this project can approach U.S. Indigenous identity discourse by bringing into dialogue cutting-edge analytics of critical Latinx Indigeneities and Indigenous transnationalism. What manifests, in effect, is a multifocal, multi-vocal narrative of Genízaro Indigeneity simultaneously bound to, yet unbounded by, settler state-centric political ontologies of Indigenous livable life.

Each chapter works toward facilitating a far more complex understanding of the politics and conditions of Indigeneity, cultural representation, and recognition by both tracing and erasing the temporal continuum between Genízaro identity discourse and the unilateral silencing of our intelligibility as Indigenous peoples in the region. Indeed, this study's ethnographic microhistory of the Santa Fe Indian School elicits the significance of Indigeneity's racial performativity and its racialist counterpoint, "Mexican-ness,"

when dictating and policing the intelligibility of Abiquiú-based Indigenous existences in northern New Mexico. Next, my examination of Smithsonian-based representational constructs of New Mexico's cultural landscape illustrates a concerted effort to shape Genízaro Indigeneity within the region's master narrative—as well as Genízaro-based scholarly efforts to simultaneously contribute to yet undermine its structural integrities. Subsequently, my exploration of contemporary Genízaro cultural forms manifesting in the Taos valley highlights dynamic approaches through which Genízaro elders and community members in my own community continue to articulate distinct understandings of place and belonging along the margins of a transnational Indigenous borderspace. Lastly, my final chapter digs its analytical fingers into the complexities of current movements among Genízaro communities in the Rio Chama and Taos valleys when approaching the intersectional politics of recognition and Indigenous identity in the U.S.

Indeed, these final two chapters work diligently to connect the historicity of Genízaro social life, as examined in the first two, to its contemporaneity by considering how individuals, families, and communities today consider and negotiate a plethora of political, social, and cultural spaces as Genízaro peoples. More importantly, it is the tracing of the historicity of these conversations to their consideration today which leads my analysis to conclude: these conversations are anything but spontaneous combustions of a "genízaro consciousness" (Atencio 1985). In fact, as evidenced by Abiquiú presences in government-run boarding schools between 1898 to 1940 or the controversy surrounding Genízaro cultural performances taking place alongside those by performed by tribal citizens of federally-recognized tribal nations in 1992 on the National Mall,

Genízaro communities have been well-aware of the challenges and opportunities they face when articulating distinct understandings of community histories, cultural knowledges, and continued experiences as Genízaro peoples. Rather, it appears that these discussions have been taking place for quite some time. Perhaps their novelty among scholars is more of a reflection of academia's recursive policing of the intelligibility of Indigenous livable life.

Perhaps a more appropriate way to take the next step in this line of thought is to ground its articulative movement in the expression of Genízaro cultural knowledge itself. As our elders would tell us as children: ahora les voy a contar un cuento (now I will tell you all a story):

A. "Being Genízaro" in the Sea of Relationality: *un cuento de los cuervos*

Lying on His back in the Sea of Relationality, the Genízaro Being squinted His eyes at the heavens above, hoping to catch a mere glimpse of His *querida* (beloved): *La Sola* (The Sun). Floating endlessly, He knew He was not alone, and yet His loneliness consumed His thoughts. The Being also knew that His *parientes* (relations) floated in the Sea as well, somewhere beyond the mountainous tidal waves swelling before Him. As hard as He tried though, as exhausted as He became, He could not move more than where the tides took Him. His only sustenance was the Sea itself; His body evolving to transform the saline Sea spray into His *aguita de vida* (water of Life), turning His head to consume that which consumes Him. He did not know whether *la tierra sagrada* (the sacred Earth) existed anymore; He only heard legends from His best—and only—friend: the Man on the Moon.

But, something changed His thinking one day as large, jet-black birds flew overhead. As far as He could see, the birds only appeared above Him; circling continuously and calling out to one another with deep, resonating croaks. They would then depart once *La Sola* made Her eastward descent, to which the Man on the Moon would appear. The Being called out, *Bro, what the hell is up with these things flying above me? I think you had called them "cuervos"* (crows) *once; I didn't think they existed anymore since la tierra sagrada had vanished from the Earth*. The Man on the Moon paused, and replied quizzingly, *Cuervos? How big are they? What do they sound like?* The Being recounted his encounter with the massive black birds, pleading to His

carnal (homeboy) to explain *just what the fuck is going on!* The Man shuttered and responded, *Bro, that's not good. Back in the day, those cuervos were signs of bad omens— bad shit happens to whom they appear.* The Being screamed, *¡¿Qué chinga'o?!* (What the fuck?!) *What have I done to deserve that? I have no one in this world—and the only one I do know is you. So, what the hell, bro?!* The Man shook his head, *I don't know what to tell you, bro—it ain't me. But whoever it is, they must be pissed! Luckily for you though, I know some fierce prayers that you can say for protection. Still, I have no idea where they could be coming from, but it ain't good, carnal*.

After being taught the prayers, the Genízaro Being floated in silence for the rest of the day; thinking hard to Himself about who He could have possibly pissed off. He barely remembers His family, and His *querida La Sola* seemed to be unreachable; Her brilliance so phenomenal that He dared not speak to Her. Yet, day after day, the *cuervos* returned; circling overhead and calling out to one another throughout the day until *La Sola* departed once again. One day, the Being finally called out to Her in frustration: *mi Divina Luz* (my Divine Light)*! Have I done something to offend you? Why do these cursed birds plague my existence?* His body seized from sheer fright as He heard *La Sola*'s fiercely serene response: *Why do you say they are cursed? Why could they not be bringers of fortune or happiness?* The Being replied: *querida, I was told by the Man on the Moon that they were bad omens to those they visited—and, de veras* (really), *nothing good has come from them since they began visiting me*. She laughed, *Pendejo* (stupid)*: you're talking to me, aren't you? You, who vented your frustrations at me when I had nothing to do with your woes; you, who cursed me when all I was being was me. I have every right to ignore your pendejadas* (bullshit)*. Yet, here I am: talking with you*. The Being was stunned; He could not make words come out of His mouth. Finally, He croaked, *Wait, so you're saying that they are actually good?—that these cuervos, which seem so intent to make their presence is known to me at all hours of sunlight, are really winged extensions of positivity and happiness*? She responded forcefully, *No, that's not what I'm saying at all. To some, they certainly are messengers of misery and damnation; to others, they are bringers of wisdom and truth. But, it does not necessarily matter what anyone else believes so much as what kind of power you invest in them. If you believe in their evil, then evil is what they bring. Likewise, if you trust in their truth, then truth is what they bring. The Man on the Moon certainly has seen his fair share of things to come to his own conclusions. But, his may not be the only conclusions. He may certainly be right, though; that these black birds mean bad news. But, he may only be acknowledging one aspect of their existence. I also may be seeing a different significance to their presence. Still, we see the same bird, no? Shit, if you didn't know that these birds represented negativity, would you be so concerned with them? Or would you be curious?—maybe even entranced by their presences in a place where they are not supposed to exist? Either way, you're still seeing black birds flying above you. Perhaps they are not the ones who possess power; perhaps it is us who gives them this unsolicited power. At the end of the day though, who they are hasn't changed. We're still seeing them for who they are: cuervos*.

Like a Hegelian conceptual metaphor, the above cuento foregrounds a deeper analysis of not only this project's theoretical contributions, but also its practical implications. Indeed, I pose to myself the following question: can we see beyond recognizable politics of recognition? Must settler state-centric lenses be the *only* lenses for scholars to engage, negotiate, or even challenge the politics of recognition? Genízaro communities may not provide definitive answers to any of these questions. However, perhaps they provide clues to having a more substantive conversation about the potentialities and pitfalls of recognition politics manifesting beyond those "distributions of power" emanating from the settler state. Is it possible to conceptualize a nonrecognized, Indigenous "political" existence that is not oppositional or inherently adversarial to the political projects of tribal nationhood or sovereignty? At first glance, it would seem so—particularly given the fact that the U.S. settler state has developed an entire area of law based on the policeability of the politics and conditions of Indigeneity. However, what happens when Indigenous "non-sovereigns" acknowledge one another—regardless of political statuses determined by the settler state? What happens when Indigenous peoplehood is not beholden to the settler state itself? What happens when Indigenous power is redistributed by those refusing to embody legible political forms to the settler state, and instead embodying that which they already are?

Equally, this intervention must acknowledge that the colonial racialization of Indigeneity served as the initial identitarian compositionality of Genízaro existences. Indeed, it is through this structure that Genízaros could be seen as recognizably Indigenous in the first place. Yet, Genízaro identity does not remain statically beholden

to its colonial origins, particularly as Genízaros in the Rio Chama and Taos valleys continue to articulate individual and collective Indigenous existences, as Genízaros, beyond historically-bounded temporalities. Much like the recent scholarly interventions being made by Métis scholars when conceptualizing Métis peoplehood (Andersen 2014; Gaudry 2016), Genízaro Indigeneity consists more than its racialist origins. Yet, unlike Métis articulations that foreground relationality is the bedrock of Métis peoplehood (Ibid; Gaudry 2016), it must be realized that Genízaro Indigeneity is arguably predicated on the rupturing and reconstituting of relationality along colonial-centric lines. Therefore, the linearity of Genízaro relationality must equally account for this initial reestablishing of kinship along inequitable, hierarchical forms of power fundamentally grounded in the displacement of colonial violence (Blackhawk 2006, 2007). Of course, this is not to relegate Genízaro existences to a narrative of victimhood; rather, it is an acknowledgment of how the structuration of Genízaro Indigeneity deviates from, yet simultaneously reshapes, the structural pillars of intelligible Indigenous existence toward their respective individual and collective means and ends.

It is indeed imperative to give a face to the name of this structure and process if we are to more adequately grasp its centrality to the recognizability of Genízaro existences and presences in the Rio Chama and Taos valleys—and how these communities can engage, negotiate, and challenge one another without necessarily constituting an oppositional or adversarial relationality. What "the political" comprises in this project are the disidentificatory assonances of Genízaro Indigeneity in relation to settler state constructs of intelligible Indigenous existences. Within each community, this

is a highly-contested space and is in no way uniform or singular in form or function. Yet, elders from each community continue to interact with one another despite these differences, reframing each other's distinctiveness as a point of departure to explore our commonalities. "Being Genízaro" in the Pueblo de Abiquiú can mean something entirely different than what is expressed in Ranchos de Taos. In fact, these conversations continue to occur beyond the gaze of the settler state as neither community is formally acknowledged by the federal government as an American Indian tribal nation. Yet, this lack of tribal political status does not foreclose each community's consideration of the potentiality for that relationship, nor has that hampered efforts by state-level legislators to engage, albeit perhaps unknowingly, in a form of recognition politics which has itself created a particularly complex political, legal, social, and cultural environment for both communities to navigate individually and in dialogue with one another.

Yet this active re-imagining of Indigenous power does not manifest inside an epistemic vacuum. Indeed, it would seem that this analytic operates more as a dialectical relationship; a mutually constitutive activity requiring of each the other's very enactment of imagined action and active imagination. This is not to say that power is nonexistent if it is being deployed without the knowledge or consent of its interlocutors. Rather, in terms of "the political," unequal and inequitable relationalities can certainly structure a hierarchy of power—but it still must be mutually constitutive to witness its instantiation and subsequent distribution. As a dialectical relation, it would seem that the very substance of "the political" can be crafted to varying means and ends, while still keeping a mutually intelligible character. This can, of course, be highly-contested, but it does not

seem to preclude its capacity to enact and be enacted in multiple registers. It is the tonal multiplicity—the multi-tonality—of "the political" which I tap into when (re)shaping the conceptual contours of its recognizability as it manifests among Genízaro-specific spaces in the Rio Chama and Taos valleys.

Perhaps this is another way to approach the analytic of self-determination among Indigenous "non-sovereigns:" the shaping and reshaping of relational pathways to simultaneously ensure and expand the survivability of themselves, their families, and communities. Yet, do these non-sovereign political movements simply operate as manifestations of selective opportunism? No. Not at all. To take the former position is to ignore the inherently inequitable power relations shaping Genízaro histories and presences in the region. Much like the "mal-criado" analytic posited by Estevan Rael-Gálvez (2002): if Genízaro political movements are being perceived as opportunistic, it is only because of an uncritical analysis of the social environments and political economies shaping Genízaro articulations of self-determination. Rather, as approached through this study, self-determination comprises mutual respect and mal-crianza. Mutual respect does not necessarily translate to signifying the inability for disagreement or difference, but instead acknowledges the ability to determine distinct political destinies while respecting those differences as individually interdependent and as interdependent individuals. Enunciations of Genízaro Indigeneity may not necessarily be identical; yet this does not necessarily preclude the ongoing acknowledgement and engagement of each community as equally Genízaro.

Indeed, it is my hope to build and depart from this work by developing several key components initially addressed in this dissertation. First, I intend to expand on my ethnohistorical project concerning the enrollment and expulsion of Abiquiú children from Indian boarding schools in northern New Mexico from 1890 to around 1940 by bringing this work into dialogue with the archival memories of Abiquiú presences at St. Catherine's Industrial Indian School, a Santa Fe-based, Catholic Church-run boarding school for Native children. Integrating this space into a broader ethnohistorical analysis of the history of education in the Pueblo de Abiquiú will add significant clarity to understanding the role of Genízaro identity and Indigeneity as Pueblo youth and families worked to ensure individual and collective accessibilities to educational opportunity.

Additionally, my upcoming research will remain situated within Indigenous-specific contexts—both among newly-formed reservation communities as well as nonrecognized Indigenous communities in southern New Mexico. I am especially interested in how tribal sovereignty, recognition politics, and latinidad are articulated, negotiated, and challenged along the U.S.-Mexico borderlands through political, legal, and extra-legal actions and practices. Building and departing from the notion that the discursive focal points of tribal nationhood and recognition remain centered on the distinct political and legal subject-positions being embodied by federally-recognized tribal nations and their citizenry in relation to the U.S. settler state, I consider three examples which complicate the clarities and clarify the complexities of Indigenous existences along the U.S.-Mexico border: competing claims by two nonrecognized Indigenous communities, Tortugas Pueblo and the Piro/Manso/Tiwa Indian Tribe of the

Pueblo of San Juan Guadalupe, respectively, for various forms of recognition from local, state, and federal government entities; recent movements by nonrecognized Pueblo youth and families from both communities intending to access cultural resources at the federally-recognized Pueblo, Ysleta del Sur Pueblo, in nearby El Paso, Texas; and the Fort Sill Apache Tribe of Oklahoma's emerging relationship with these nearby nonrecognized Pueblo communities. In each of these examples, individuals, families, communities, and tribal nations invoke and disrupt the political and legal characters of sovereignty inside and outside the paradigm of U.S.-based federal Indian policy.

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